

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

John L. McKenzie, S.J.

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*To the Members of
The Society of Jesus*

Preface

In a conversation in the spring of 1956 the Rev. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., noticed the need for a one-volume dictionary of the Bible for general use. He pointed out that since I had a book in press at that time and no plans for another, the task could be undertaken by me, since it appeared unlikely that anyone else would undertake it in the near future. When the suggestion was presented to Mr. William C. Bruce, he accepted it with lively interest and prepared a contract. The writing was begun in November, 1956, and the last pages of the manuscript were done in July, 1962. The book was delivered to The Bruce Publishing Company in June, 1964.

It is rare in modern times that a Bible dictionary is prepared by a single writer, since the task is regarded as too massive for one man. In this judgment I am ready to concur. The idea of a volume written by a number of scholars under my editorship was considered, but never seriously. In all probability a dictionary written in this way would not yet be offered to the public. Expeditionousness of composition, however, is not the only merit desired in a dictionary. There are inevitable weaknesses in a work covering so much territory when it is done by a single writer, who cannot possibly have equal control of all the material. In the final judgment, it seemed preferable to accept these weaknesses in the hope of achieving a kind of strength which a work of multiple authorship does not have.

A number of colleagues expressed doubts about the wisdom of the project, not only because of the weaknesses which could be expected in the work, but also because they felt that it would take me from other activities which in the long run might be more useful. I mention this only because some of them who have read over the manuscript were kind enough to say that they no longer feel these doubts. This is most encouraging, and I wish to attest my gratitude for this encouragement, regretting only that I am unable to mention their names.

Any good dictionary is a work of compilation. A reference book is not the place for the most advanced creative scholarship; it is a place where the reader hopes to find a synthesis of the common conclusions of scholarship. It has been my purpose to make this such a work. I regret that the format of a dictionary does not permit complete acknowledgment of my dependence on the work of others. The practice of adding bibliographical notes after at least major articles was considered; but it was felt that this would add too much to the bulk of the book and to its cost, and that the same purpose would be served by a list of general works where the reader could find more ample bibliographical references. The books listed are those which I used most frequently in the preparation of the articles; I gladly acknowledge the use I have made of them and of the works of other writers who, because their works were less frequently used, could sometimes be mentioned only by name.

The writing was done at West Baden College, Indiana (since transferred to Bellarmine Theological School, North Aurora, Illinois) and since 1960 at Loyola University, Chicago. At both institutions I enjoyed freedom from occupations other than the minimum teaching load. Since 1961 the Very Rev. John R. Connery, S.J., superior of the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus, has

granted funds to pay a full-time secretary to handle this and other typing. Miss Carolyn Cuccia typed out the entire manuscript in quadruplicate with care and devotion far in excess of the remuneration she received, and was largely responsible for a number of corrections. When the job was finished she was without doubt better informed about the Bible than any person of her age in Chicago. Her successor, Mrs. Mildred Kearney, typed the revised pages, which themselves make a sizable book. Facilities for the work were furnished by the Rev. John B. Amberg, S.J., director of Loyola University Press. In Chicago I enjoyed the use of the library of McCormick Theological Seminary; without this resource the work could not have been done, and I thank the staff of the library for their help. The manuscript was read by eight members of the Society of Jesus whose names are not divulged to the author. Their judgment was favorable, or the work would not appear. They found several hundred points where correction removed errors or made the text clearer and more readable, or where some bold opinions were tempered or better founded. Were censorship always conducted in the manner in which these gentlemen fulfilled their responsibility, there would never be any complaint about the process. It is a thankless task, but thanks must be rendered here even though they cannot be rendered personally. Mr. William E. May has done the editorial work for the publisher, and I thank him for his extremely competent preparation of the manuscript and for his patience. Miss Anita Weisbrod assisted in preparing the manuscript for publication.

I regret that there is no way except a general expression of gratitude in which I can pay thanks to what seems an infinite multitude of friends and associates who encouraged the work, made kindly inquiries about its progress, and voiced their hopes for its successful completion. Those who have not written a book of 800,000 words probably do not realize that such a task can occasionally create a problem of author morale. At such moments one is sensible of those who share one's conviction that a job worth beginning is worth finishing. In short, these acknowledgments — and I hope no others which I have forgotten — make one keenly aware that his book is the product of many other minds and hands than his own. I am happy to testify to this; all of these have helped me in everything except making mistakes, which I am capable of handling by myself.

The work is published with perhaps more than the usual apprehensions, but it has reached the point where there is nothing else to do but publish it. Since 1956 the need for a one-volume dictionary has become less acute. But there is always room for an abundance of such aids; and it makes the author smile wryly when he recalls that even a mediocre dictionary is likely to outlive its author by many years. In such cases survival is not a mark of quality, but simply an indication that no one has replaced the work. If this book serves those for whom it is intended, it will survive; if it does not serve them, it does not merit survival.

JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J.

Calvert House, The University of Chicago

September 8, 1965

The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Abbreviations for Books of the Bible

OT

Gn	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lv	Leviticus
Nm	Numbers
Dt	Deuteronomy
Jos	Joshua
Jgs	Judges
1 S	1 Samuel
2 S	2 Samuel (1-2 S)
1 K	1 Kings
2 K	2 Kings (1-2 K)
1 Ch	1 Chronicles
2 Ch	2 Chronicles (1-2 Ch)
Ezr	Ezra
Ne	Nehemiah
Tb	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Est	Esther
1 Mc	1 Maccabees
2 Mc	2 Maccabees (1-2 Mc)
Rt	Ruth
Ps (Pss)	Psalms
Pr	Proverbs
Jb	Job
Lam	Lamentations
Ec	Ecclesiastes
SS	Song of Solomon
BS	Sirach
WS	Wisdom of Solomon
Is	Isaiah (II Is, III Is)
Je	Jeremiah
Ezk	Ezekiel
Dn	Daniel
Ho	Hosea
Jl	Joel
Am	Amos
Ob	Obadiah

Mi	Micah
Jon	Jonah
Na	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zp	Zephaniah
Hg	Haggai
Zc	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
Bar	Baruch

NT

Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
AA	Acts
Rm	Romans
1 Co	1 Corinthians
2 Co	2 Corinthians (1-2 Co)
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phl	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Th	1 Thessalonians
2 Th	2 Thessalonians (1-2 Th)
1 Tm	1 Timothy
2 Tm	2 Timothy (1-2 Tm)
Tt	Titus
Phm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Js	James
1 Pt	1 Peter
2 Pt	2 Peter (1-2 Pt)
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John (1-2-3 Jn)
Jd	Jude
Apc	Apocalypse

Abbreviations and Symbols

AD	after Christ	JE	Jahwist-Elohist
AJ	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>	LB	Late Bronze Period
Akkad	Akkadian	lit	literally
ANEP	Pritchard, <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</i>	Lt	Latin
ANET	Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i>	LXX	Septuagint
AOT	Gressman, <i>Altorientalische Texte und Bilder</i>	MB	Middle Bronze Period
ARM	Bottéro and Gossin, <i>Archives Royales de Mari</i>	mi	mile(s)
AV	Authorized Version	MS, MSS	Manuscript(s)
BC	before Christ	Mt	Mount
BL	Driver and Miles, <i>Babylonian Laws</i>	MT	Masoretic Text
CC	Code of the Covenant	N	North
cf	see	NT	New Testament
ch(s)	chapter(s)	OT	Old Testament
circa, c	about	P	Priestly writer
cm	centimeter(s)	p, pp	page(s)
D	Deuteronomist	passim	in numerous passages
DBSV	Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible	pers	person
DC	Deuteronomic Code	PC	Priestly Code
doz	dozen	pl	plural
E	East	Pnt	Pentateuch
E	Elohist	pop	population
EA	Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i>	prol	prologue
EB	Early Bronze Period	RD	Rheims-Douay
e.g.	for example	RDC	Rheims-Douay-Challoner
Eng	English	S	South
etc.	and so forth	sc	namely
F	Fahrenheit	sg	singular
f, ff	the following verse(s)	THWB	Kittel, <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
ft or '	foot (feet)	v	verse
Gk	Greek	var	variation
Hb	Hebrew	Vg	Vulgate
HC	Holiness Code	W	West
ibid	the same passage	WHA	Wright & Filson, <i>Westminster Historical Atlas</i>
i.e.	that is	ys	years
in or "	inch(es)	*	See article under this title
J	Jahwist	+	and others
		#	numbers
		x	by
		°	degree(s)
		=	parallel to

Transcription of Hebrew Letters

Aleph	ʾ	Zayin	z	Mem	m	Koph	k
Beth	b	Heth	h	Nun	n	Resh	r
Ghimel	g	Teth	t	Samech	s	Sin	s
Daleth	d	Yod	y	Ayin	ʿ	Shin	š
He	h	Kaph	k	Pe	p	Taw	t
Waw	w	Lamed	l	Sade	š		

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DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

A

Aaron (Hb *'āh'ārōn*, etymology unknown), brother of Moses* and Miriam*, son of Amran* and Jochebed*. Aaron is designated as the speaker for Moses (Ex 4:14; 7:1), but this is not mentioned again in the stories of the plagues* of Egypt*; in some plague stories Aaron is represented as wielding the rod, in others he is associated with Moses. The association is continued in the exodus* narratives. Aaron with Hur* sustained the hands of Moses in prayer during the battle with Amalek*. Aaron is invited to accompany Moses to the peak of Sinai* (Ex 19:24) alone; another tradition adds his two sons and 72 elders (Ex 24:1), while another leaves him with Hur in charge of the people (Ex 24:14). Aaron and his sons are designated (Ex 28:1 ff) and installed (Lv 8:1–10:20) as priests, with Aaron as high priest (cf PRIEST). Aaron was associated with the construction of the golden calf (Ex 32:1 ff), but was not punished; the tradition represented him as yielding to popular pressure. Miriam and Aaron were involved in a quarrel with Moses concerning Moses' Cushite (cf CUSH) wife; here also he is not punished, although Miriam was. The priesthood of the family of Aaron was vindicated by Yahweh against the rebellion of Korah* and his fellow Levites* (Nm 16:1–18:24). Aaron died before the Israelites reached Canaan*; he was stripped of his priestly robes, which were transferred to his son Eleazar*, and buried on Mt Hor* (Nm 20:23 ff; 33:38 f) or at Moserah (Dt 10:6). Outside of subsequent passing allusions to the exodus traditions (1 S 12:6, 8; Ps 77:21; 105:26; 106:16; Mi 6:4), Aaron is not mentioned except as the priest, the ancestor of the "house of Aaron" or "the sons of Aaron." In the NT the imperfect priesthood of Aaron is contrasted with the perfect priesthood of Christ (Heb 5:4; 7:11; cf PRIEST).

Hebrew popular tradition has obscured and transfigured the historical character of Aaron. In the episodes of Miriam and the golden calf his guilt has been minimized. His part in the plague stories has probably been enlarged; in some stories he does not appear at all. Like Moses, he is wrapped in an element of wonder, especially in the story of the vindication of the Aaronic priesthood, which seems to reflect a sacerdotal and levitical quarrel which we cannot reconstruct exactly. But tradition has honestly preserved the account of his failings; and

there is no reason, with some modern scholars, to regard him as a creation of Hebrew folklore and a retrojection of the later priesthood into early Israel, although the features of the later priesthood are certainly read back into the primitive period (cf PRIEST). But early Israel must have had a priesthood, and it is worth notice that its priest was not its great leader and prophet Moses, but his brother.

Abaddon (Hb *'abaddōn*, "destruction," "perdition"), named together with death* (Jb 28:22), and Sheol* (Pr 15:11), with the grave* (Ps 88:12, cf Jb 26:6; 31:12); a name for the region of the dead (cf DEATH, SHEOL); in rabbinical literature a part of Gehenna*. In NT it occurs only in Apc 9:11 as the name of the "angel* of the abyss*," Gk *'Apollyon*, "destroyer."

Abanah (Hb *'abānāh*), one of the rivers of Damascus* with the Pharpar* (2 K 5:12); probably the modern Barada or a branch of it.

Abarim (Hb *'abārīm*), mountains in Moab, including Pisgah* and Nebo*, from which the entire land of Canaan could be surveyed (Nm 27:12; 33:47 f; Dt 32:49; Je 22:20). These are the summits and slopes which divide the plateau of Moab from the Dead Sea.

Abba (Aramaic emphatic form of *'ab*, "father", employed as vocative), a word uttered by Jesus (Mk 14:36), employed by early Christians (Rm 8:15; Gal 4:6), with Gk translation given in each passage. In prayer formulae among Gk-speaking Christians probably both forms, *'ab* and *abba*, were used. Aramaic epistles indicate that it was a familiar address used by children; in this sense Jesus used it in invoking the Father* in the great crisis of His life, and it was taken up by the early Church.

Abdon (Hb *'abdōn*, etymology uncertain; perhaps abbreviated from theophorous name meaning "slave of [name of deity]"). 1. Personal name borne by 4 men in OT, of whom the most notable is the "minor" judge* Abdon ben Hillel of Pirathon* (Jgs 12:13), whose 40 sons and 30 grandsons rode on 70 asses, a token of fabulous wealth. 2. A town in Asher (Jos 21:30; 1 Ch 6:59).

Abednego (Hb *ʾābēd nēgō*, probably corrupted from *ʾābēd nēbō*, "slave of Nabu"), Babylonian name given to Azariah*, one of the companions of Daniel (Dn 1:7).

Abel (Hb *hebel*, which would mean "vanity," "nothingness"; but more probably derived from Akkadian *aplu*, "son," which would indicate a Mesopotamian origin of the story). Abel was the second son of Adam* and Eve*, a shepherd*. His sacrifice* was pleasing to God, and he was murdered by his brother Cain* out of envy (Gn 4:2 ff). In Gn the story of the first murder begins the account of the moral deterioration of man which follows the Fall* and grows until it is arrested by the Deluge*. The story as adapted for this purpose exhibits traits of its origin and earlier forms. Abel is a pastoral culture hero, the first herdsman—an achievement which is credited in another tradition (Gn 4:20) to Jabal*, a descendant of Cain. The murder of Abel reflects the unending guerrilla conflict between the nomadic herdsman and the peasant, represented by Cain. The story is obviously sympathetic to the herdsman, and attributes the feud of nomad and peasant to an original act of treachery by the peasant. Abel is also the first to offer sacrifice; the story accepts animal sacrifice as better than cereal offerings. This probably reflects the attitude of the early nomadic Israelites toward the cult of the Canaanite peasants, who, however, also offered animal sacrifice. Abel is mentioned in Mt 23:35 and Lk 11:51 as an innocent victim of murder; his sacrifice is praised in Heb 11:4, and in Heb 12:24 his blood, which cried for vengeance, speaks less powerfully than the atoning blood of Jesus.

Abia. 1. Cf ABIJAH. 2. Gk form of 1; in Lk 1:5 the 8th of the 24 divisions or courses of the temple priesthood (cf 1 Ch 24:10 and PRIEST), of which Zechariah*, the father of John the Baptist*, was a member.

Abiathar (Hb *ʾebyātār*, old Babylonian Abiatar, "the father [i.e., god] excels"?), son of Ahimelech* of the line of Eli*, the sole survivor of the priestly family of Nob* after the slaughter of the priests by Saul* (1 S 22:9 ff). Abiathar fled to David* and joined David's band, taking with him the priestly oracle Urim* and Thummim, which he employed in David's service (1 S 23:6 ff; 30:7 ff). He is mentioned with Zadok* as a priest in one list of David's officers (2 S 20:25; 1 Ch 15:11) and as one of David's council (1 Ch 27:34). A son of Abiathar, Ahimelech (Abimelech 1 Ch 18:16) is mentioned as priest with Zadok in 2 S 8:17 (cf also 1 Ch 24:6). This may be due to a trans-

position of the names in the text; but it may also signify that Abiathar's son assumed the office of priest because of Abiathar's age, which must have been advanced by the end of David's reign. With Zadok he carried the ark from Jerusalem at the beginning of the revolt of Absalom*; but at the command of David they returned the ark to the city and themselves remained there to act as spies in concert with Hushai*, one of Absalom's council (2 S 15). The messages from the spies to David were delivered by Ahimaaz* and Jonathan*, Abiathar's son. During the last illness of David, Abiathar attached himself to the party of Adonijah*, the eldest of David's surviving sons, while Zadok joined the party of Solomon*. Not long after Solomon succeeded to the throne Adonijah and Joab* were assassinated; Solomon spared the life of Abiathar because of his priesthood, but deposed him from office and confined him to his estate at Anathoth* (1 K 1-2). The list of Solomon's officers in 1 K 4:4 must therefore antedate these events.

Abib. The name of the first month in the old Hebrew calendar, corresponding to Nisan in the later calendar, roughly our March; the month in which the exodus from Egypt occurred (Ex 13:4; 34:18; Dt 16:1). Cf CALENDAR.

Abiezer (Hb *ʾābīʾēzer*, "the father [i.e. god] is help"). 1. The clan of Gideon* (Jgs 6:11, 24; 8:2, 32), probably identical with the clan of Iezer of the tribe of Manasseh* (Nm 26:30; 1 Ch 7:18). 2. One of David's heroes (2 S 23:27; 1 Ch 11:28; 27:12).

Abigail (Hb *ʾabīgāyil*, meaning uncertain ["the father rejoices"?]). 1. Wife of Nabal* of Carmel* in Judah. When her husband refused to assist David* and his band, Abigail averted David from his intention to massacre the entire household by meeting him with provisions (1 S 25:1 ff). After the sudden death of Nabal, David took Abigail, described as "attractive and sensible," as a wife. She followed him to Gath* during his service with Achish* (1 S 27:3), and was among those captured and rescued in the raid of the Amalekites upon Ziklag* (1 S 30:5). She also accompanied him to his accession at Hebron* (2 S 2:2), where she bore him a son, Chileab*. 2. A sister of David (Abigal in 2 S 17:25), wife of an Ishmaelite, Jether, and mother of Amasa*, who commanded the army of Absalom* (2 S 17:25; 1 Ch 2:16, 17).

Abihu (Hb *ʾābīhū*, "he [the god] is father"), son of Aaron* and Elisheba (Ex 6:23; Nm 3:2; 26:60; 1 Ch 5:29; 24:1). With his brother Nadab* he accompanied Moses*,

Aaron, and the 70 elders to the theophany on Sinai* (Ex 24:1 ff). He and Nadab were installed as priests with their father Aaron, but the two sons were killed by lightning because of some impropriety in their first offering of sacrifice* (Lv 10:1 ff). Possibly this story is a fictional explanation of the extinction of two priestly families of Abihu and Nadab. Cf PRIEST.

Abijah (Hb *'abiyah*, "Yah[weh] is father").

1. Son and successor of Rehoboam* in the kingdom of Judah (915–913 BC); in 1 K his name appears as Abijah. His mother was Maacah*. Nothing is related of his reign in 1 K, where he is judged unfavorably, except war with Jeroboam* of Israel; the unfavorable judgment probably signifies that he tolerated worship on the high places* (1 K 15:1–8). In 2 Ch 13:1–22 there appears an account of a battle between Abijah and Jeroboam, notable chiefly for the extended speech of Abijah in which victory is assured him because of his fidelity to the worship of Yahweh. Abijah was victorious in spite of the successful ambush laid by Jeroboam, and recovered the cities of Bethel*, Jeshanah, and Ephron*. The author of Ch does not judge Abijah unfavorably (cf CHRONICLES).

2. A son of Samuel* (1 S 8:2) who shared his father's office but not his incorruptibility.

3. Son of Jeroboam of Israel; he died as a child and was the occasion of the denunciation of the king by Abijah* (1 K 14:1 ff). The name was borne by three other men, one the head of a priestly family (cf ABIA) and one woman, the wife of Hezekiah* (2 Ch 29:1; Abi in 2 K 18:2).

Abilene (Gk *abilēnē*), the tetrarchy or district ruled by Lysanias* at the beginning of the public life of Jesus (Lk 3:1). The district was centered about the city of Abila, in the valley of the Barada about 20 mi NW of Damascus*.

Abimelech (Hb *'abīmelek*, "the father [i.e., god] is king").

1. The name of a Canaanite king of Gerar*. He took Sarah*, the wife of Abraham*, into his harem; but after he had been warned by God in a dream he released her and dismissed Abraham with gifts. His rebuke of Abraham for posing as the brother of Sarah implies a moral judgment of the author on Abraham's conduct (Gn 20:1–18). Abraham also made a covenant with Abimelech and Phicol*, the commander of his army, at Beersheba*, by which Abraham was guaranteed sure possession of a well he had dug and rights to pasture in the Negeb*. A king of the same name at Gerar appears in the story of Isaac*, whose

wife he takes into his harem; in this story the ruse is discovered when Abimelech sees Isaac making love to Rebekah*. This account is no doubt a variant of the story which is read in Gn 12:10 ff, 20:1 ff, about Abraham (cf GENESIS; PENTATEUCH).

2. The son of Gideon* and a Canaanite concubine who lived at Shechem*. Abimelech appealed to the citizens of Shechem on the basis of his relationship and persuaded them to rebel against the rule of the sons of Gideon, all of whom were murdered by Abimelech except Jotham* (Jgs 8:29–9:21). Two accounts of a rebellion of the men of Shechem against Abimelech have been carelessly compiled. In one (Jgs 9:22–25; 9:42–49) a quarrel arises because the men of Shechem rob those who pass on the road. This probably reflects a quarrel over the tolls exacted from caravans on the highway which follows the ridge of the central range of Palestine*. Abimelech ambushed the men of the city when they went out to work in the fields and razed the city to the ground. Those who escaped to Migdal-Shechem, the citadel, were also killed when the citadel was burned. The other story in Jgs 9:26–41 has been interpolated into the middle of the first account. This relates a rebellion led by a certain Gaal* which was suppressed by Zebul*, the governor appointed by Abimelech. In both accounts Abimelech does not reside at Shechem, which is not explained; Arumah, not identified, is mentioned as his residence (Jgs 9:41). The destruction of Shechem is no doubt exaggerated; this important crossroads city could not long remain uninhabited. Abimelech himself was killed during an attack on Thebez* by a millstone flung from the wall by a woman (Jgs 9:50–57); this misfortune became proverbial (2 S 11:21). The story of Abimelech illustrates the unsettled conditions of Canaan during the Israelite settlement. Shechem was itself a Canaanite city, not an Israelite city, but it was ruled by Israelites, Gideon and his sons; and Abimelech himself was the issue of a mixed union. Abimelech, like Gideon, ruled the city from elsewhere, probably an Israelite city, and his armed band was either Israelite or mixed. Like the other judges*, he was a military leader who defended or expanded the territory of Israel; but his character excluded him from the list of charismatic heroes.

Abinadab (Hb *'abīnādāb*, "the father [i.e., god] is noble").

1. A man of Kirjath-jearim* in whose house the ark* of the covenant* was kept after it was recovered from the Philistines* (1 S 7:1) until it was removed by David* to be installed in Jerusalem* (2 S 6:2 ff). 2. Brother of David (1 S 16:8; 17:13;

1 Ch 2:13). **3.** Son of Saul* (1 S 31:2; 1 Ch 8:33; 9:39; 10:2).

Abiram (Hb ^a*bīrām*, "the father [i.e., god] is exalted"). **1.** Cf DATHAN. **2.** Cf HIEL. The name is probably identified with Abram-Abraham*.

Abishag (Hb ^a*bīšāg*, meaning uncertain), a young woman of Shunem* who became the companion of David* in his old age (1 K 1:1-4) and slept with him to keep him warm. Although they had no sexual relations, Abishag nevertheless was the occasion of the death of Adonijah*, who asked for her from Solomon after David's death (1 K 2:13-25). Such intimate contact with the king made her a royal possession upon which it was treason to encroach.

Abishai (Hb ^a*bīšai*, meaning uncertain), brother of Joab* and Asahel*, the three sons of Zeruiah*, David's sister (1 Ch 2:16). With Joab, he was intimately associated with David during his life and reign. Abishai accompanied David to the camp of Saul by night and urged that Saul be slain there and then; David refused (1 S 26:6 ff). With Joab he pursued Abner* after Abner had killed their brother Asahel in battle (2 S 2:24), and he is mentioned together with Joab in the killing of Abner, although Joab himself struck the blow (2 S 3:30). He commanded the army of David under Joab; at the siege of Rabbah* he took command of half the army to hold the Ammonites*, while Joab attacked the Aramaeans* who had come as allies (2 S 10:9-14). He accompanied David on his flight from Absalom and asked David's permission to kill Shimei* for cursing David, but this was refused (2 S 16:9). With Joab and Ittai he commanded the army against Absalom (2 S 18:2) and in the subsequent rebellion (2 S 20:10). When Shimei met David to ask for forgiveness, Abishai again asked permission to kill him but was again forbidden to (2 S 19:19-23). During the war against the Philistines* Abishai saved David's life by killing a Philistine hero whose name is corrupted and who resembles Goliath*; this was the occasion on which David's officers refused to let him take personal part in battle (2 S 21:16-17). Abishai appears in the list of David's heroes as chief of the Thirty (2 S 23:18-19). He led a campaign into Edom* and placed garrisons in the country after a victory in the Valley of Salt (1 Ch 18:12 f). The conquest of Edom is attributed to Joab in 1 K 11:15; it is doubtful that these two traditions refer to two different campaigns. Abishai was, like his brother Joab, closely linked to David by blood and by many services both per-

sonal and official, and like Joab put loyalty to the king above every other consideration.

Abner (Hb ^a*bnēr*, meaning uncertain; "the father [the god] is a lamp"?), son of Ner, commander of the army of Saul (1 S 14:50). Ner and Kish, the father of Saul, were brothers, sons of Abiel. He appears at the battle with the Philistines at Socoh* (1 S 17:55). As a ranking officer he dines with the king's sons and David (1 S 20:25). He commanded Saul's forces during the pursuit of David and was rebuked by David for permitting him to enter Saul's camp by night (1 S 26:14-16). After Saul's death at the battle of Gilboa* Abner took Ishbaal*, Saul's surviving son, across the Jordan to Mahanaim* and maintained the kingdom of Israel. After David had been acclaimed king of Judah at Hebron* (2 S 2:1 ff), war broke out between the two kingdoms, and hostilities were initiated at the pool of Gibeon* (2 S 2:12 ff). The battle was opened by a tournament of 12 chosen champions from each side; perhaps what began as a mere test of arms turned to hostile conflict. Abner's army was defeated and he was pursued by Asahel*, the brother of Joab* and Abishai*; when Asahel, warned by Abner, refused to abandon the pursuit, Abner killed him. This was taken as the beginning of a blood-feud (cf AVENGER) with the family of Asahel. The war went badly for Ishbaal, who alienated Abner's loyalty by rebuking him for taking Rizpah*, a woman of Saul's harem; and Abner opened negotiations to deliver the kingdom of Ishbaal to David. David was happy to receive the message, but insisted that Saul's daughter, Michal*, who had been given to Paltiel* after David's flight, be restored to him; his honor had been grievously injured. Abner agreed and promoted the cause of David with the Israelites, especially with Benjamin*, the tribe of Saul. When he came to David with an Israelite embassy, Joab called him aside and murdered him in fulfillment of the feud. Although the murder was profitable to David, he protested that he had no part in it; but he did not punish Joab, whose fidelity here had exceeded all bounds (2 S 3). Abner's part in establishing the united monarchy of David was considerable. His loyalty to the failing house of Saul finally broke, but up to the time he changed masters he had followed Saul's house without reserve; and he must have seen that there was no hope for Israel except in the single rule of David.

Abomination of Desolation. The common English version of Dn 9:27; 11:31, Hb *šikkus m'sōmēm*. The passages were probably written on the occasion of the erection of an altar to Zeus Olympios in the temple

sanctuary by Antiochus* Epiphanes in 168 B.C. (1 Mc 1:54; 6:7; 2 Mc 6:2). In 1 Mc the Hb words are translated into Gk. In the prophetic* and apocalyptic* literature, however, it is common to universalize particular events; and in this event is seen the profanation of the holy by the powers of unbelief and godlessness, which is a constantly recurring motif in history. It is in this sense that Jesus alludes to the words of Dn in Mt 24:15, and not with reference to any particular event.

Abraham (Hb 'abrāhām), son of Terah* and ancestor of the Israelites*. The name is most probably a dialectal variant of the original name 'abrām, identical with 'abirām, "the father (i.e., god) is exalted." The etymology implied in Gn 17:5, where the change of name is related, is popular.

1. *Life.* The clan of Terah migrated from Ur* to Haran*, where Terah died. From there Abraham migrated to Canaan* (Gn 11:27 ff). This episode may preserve two variant traditions about the place of Abraham's origin. In Canaan occurred the first divine communication granted to Abraham and the promise of a great posterity (Gn 12:1-3). At Shechem* he received the promise that his descendants would possess Canaan (Gn 12:7). He traveled to Bethel* and to the Negeb*; driven by a famine to Egypt, he posed as the brother of Sarah*, who was taken into the harem of the Pharaoh. The Pharaoh saw in a plague of diseases a warning that he had done wrong and released Sarah (Gn 12:10-20). Because of quarrels between the herdsmen of Abraham and those of his nephew Lot* they parted from each other; Lot dwelt near Sodom*, and Abraham remained in Canaan (Gn 13:1 ff). A variant of the promise that Canaan would belong to Abraham's descendants occurs in Gn 13:14 ff. In Gn 14:1 ff Abraham appears as a military hero, the only such episode reported of him. A raiding party sent by the Mesopotamian overlords of Canaan was pursued by Abraham, who rescued the booty and the prisoners, including Lot. On his return he was met at Salem* (Jerusalem) by its king, Melchizedek*. This story preserved the memory of the first encounter of the ancestor of the Israelites with what became the most Israelite of all cities. A son was promised Abraham (Gn 15:1 ff) and a covenant* was concluded by Abraham with the God who had revealed Himself (Gn 15:9); a variant of the promise of the land to his descendants is added (Gn 15:18 ff). The childless Sarah substituted her slave Hagar*, who bore Abraham a son, Ishmael*. This practice is found in the legal codes of Mesopotamia; the rights of the substitute

and her children were guaranteed by the law, but were violated by Sarah and Abraham, who yielded to his wife's jealousy and expelled Hagar and her son (Gn 16:1-16). A variant account of the covenant is found in Gn 17:1 ff; the obligation of circumcision and another variant of the promise of a son are added (Gn 17:15 ff). Abraham entertained God with two companions (Gn 18:1 ff), and a son is promised again. The realism of the story need not blind us to the fact that hospitality is a much prized virtue in the desert; and that the tradition of Abraham's hospitality was intended to show that this virtue is most pleasing to God. He who exhibits it entertains God in the traveler. The account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah* is preceded by a debate between Abraham and God (Gn 18:20-19:28). Such natural disasters posed a question to the Hebrew mind as to the justice of such punishments; for they were conceived as an act of the wrath of God. The dialogue of Gn 18:20 ff is a primitive theodicy, explaining them as the result of the total depravity of the people involved; were there even a few innocent, God would withhold His anger for their sake. In Gn 20:1 ff there is a variant of the story of Abraham and Sarah found in Gn 12:10 ff; cf ABIMELECH. The birth of Isaac is related in Gn 21:1 ff with a variant of the story of the expulsion of Hagar*. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac in Gn 22:1 ff shows the great faith of Abraham. It is also directed against the practice of human sacrifice, and this is probably its primary purpose in its original form. It may be the expression of this truth by an imaginary narrative, a parable*, or it may preserve dimly the memory of some spiritual crisis in the life of Abraham. After the death of Sarah, Abraham purchased ground at Hebron* for a burial plot; this was the first ownership of a portion of the land which was promised to the descendants of Abraham (Gn 23:1 ff). Abraham sought a bride for Isaac from his kinsfolk in Mesopotamia (Gn 24:1 ff). Gn 25:1 ff contains a genealogy* which connects Abraham with a number of Arabian* tribes.

2. *Literary character of the traditions of Abraham.* The stories of Abraham are family traditions preserved by oral tradition for some centuries before they were written down. They exhibit a number of variant accounts of single events, from which appears the freedom with which these memories were repeated in story. An element of wonder is introduced and heightened in some forms of the tradition. The stories are not preserved or related in a consecutive biography, but are strung together in a sequence which does not necessarily follow the order of time.

It is important to distinguish this type of family tradition from historical records as we understand them and to leave room for the imagination of the storytellers (cf HISTORY). On the sources and their compilation cf PENTATEUCH.

3. *Date and historical background of Abraham.* Older scholars dated Abraham as a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon (c 1728–1686 BC), whom they identified with Amraphel of Shinar (Gn 14:1). This identification can no longer be retained, nor can we place the five kings in any known period of Mesopotamian history, although the same or similar names occur in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC; cf the separate articles. But it is almost certain that Abraham belongs to the period 2000–1500 BC, and later in the period rather than earlier. It is no longer possible to regard Abraham as an entirely fictitious character or as the personification of a tribe, although not all the traditions concerning him have equal historical value. For historical and cultural background cf AMORITES; PATRIARCHS.

4. *The Religion of Abraham.* The importance of Abraham lies in the fact that with him begins the biblical revelation. No reason can be found for the preservation of his memory except the Hebrew belief that God first spoke to him, and this belief can be questioned only by doubting the entire chain of Hebrew and Christian belief. The substance of this fact is not affected by questions about the historical validity of separate traditions. There can be little doubt that the God who revealed Himself to Abraham appears as a family god, "the God of Abraham (Isaac and Jacob)" (Gn 26:24; Ex 3:15+). This form of worship, in which the deity of the family was worshiped and enshrined in the family dwelling, is known from the remains of ancient Mesopotamia. Abraham knows him not as Yahweh, who was worshiped by the later Israelites, but as El Shaddai. In character He appears as a god of cosmic domain, who can give Abraham the land of Canaan, and of justice and righteousness, who gives sanction to moral obligations. He can be approached by His worshipers and He hears their prayers. He receives sacrifice, the common rite of adoration of the ancient world. He demands unreserved faith* in His promises and in His power and will to fulfill them. The morality of Abraham was in many respects no more enlightened than that of his world; the revelation of the divine moral will did not come all at once. In no tradition of Abraham does God demand that He be worshiped exclusively, and the omission is significant, since this feature of Hebrew belief is so emphasized in later history and yet is not read

back into the story of Abraham; cf Jos 24:2. But He is a God who stands alone, without associate or consort; as a family god, He has no connection with the gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon.

5. *Abraham in later Scriptures.* The promises and the covenant of Abraham, which initiated the process of salvation and culminated in the covenant, are often alluded to in the OT (Ex 32:13; Nm 32:11; Dt 1:8; 2 K 13:23; 1 Ch 16:16; Ps 105:9, 42+). Yahweh redeemed Abraham (Is 29:22); Abraham is the rock and the quarry from which Israel came (Is 51:1–2). Though he was only one, he possessed the whole land (Ezk 33:24). References to Abraham in the NT are numerous. He was the father of the Jews (Mt 3:9+), they are his descendants (Jn 8:33). The entire dispute in Jn 8:33 ff hinges on the Jews' pride in their descent from Abraham; Jesus takes occasion of this to point out that mere carnal descent is not enough. The climax of the dispute is reached when Jesus claimed to be greater than Abraham. John the Baptist had already said that God could raise up children of Abraham from stones (Mt 3:9). Paul takes Abraham as a hero of faith as contrasted with the works of the Law* (Rm 4:1 ff; Gal 3:6 ff). Faith in Christ makes one a true descendant of Abraham (Gal 3:29). Abraham's two wives are types of the two covenants, the covenant of bondage of Moses and the covenant of liberty of Christ (Gal 4:22). Melchizedek, a type* of Christ, shows the supremacy of Christ; for Melchizedek received tithes from Abraham, the ancestor of the priesthood of Aaron (Heb 7:1 ff).

Abraham's Bosom. Mentioned in Lk 16:22. In 4 Mc 13:17 the just at their death are received by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This probably alludes to the heavenly banquet; the place of honor was next to the host, where the guest could recline on the host's bosom (cf Jn 13:25). Cf MEAL.

Abram. Cf ABRAHAM.

Absalom (Hb 'abšālôm, "the father [i.e., god] is peace," in 1 K 15:2, 10 'abīšālôm), son of David* and Maacah*, daughter of Talmai*, king of Geshur* (2 S 3:3). His full sister Tamar* was raped by their half-brother Amnon*; in revenge Absalom murdered Amnon at the feast of the sheepshearing (2 S 13:1 ff). Absalom fled to Geshur, remaining there three years. Joab*, perceiving that David really yearned for his son but could not recall him without injuring the royal dignity, persuaded him through the fictitious case presented by the wise woman of Tekoa* (2 S 14:1 ff). The point of her case is that

the law of blood-revenge is not valid within a family, since it is all one and the same blood, and that the family must first preserve itself even if a murder must be condoned. Absalom was recalled but not admitted to the royal presence for two years. He then set Joab's fields on fire to remind him that he should intercede with the king. During the next four years Absalom made a habit of exhibiting friendliness to all men and of pointing out weaknesses in the government of David (2 S 15:1 ff). When he felt strong enough, he proclaimed himself king in Hebron, and David was forced to flee from Jerusalem. Ahithophel*, one of David's council, joined the revolt; he persuaded Absalom to take public possession of David's harem (2 S 16:21-22). This was a paramount act of treason, since the harem partook of the sanctity of royalty, and made an irreparable breach between the two. Ahithophel also asked that he be permitted to pursue David immediately before David could gather a force. Hushai*, also one of David's council, had remained in Jerusalem at David's request to work secretly for David. He counseled delay, lest there be an immediate defeat, and urged Absalom to gather an army and head it personally (2 S 17:1 ff). Absalom, probably moved by vanity, accepted the counsel of Hushai; and Ahithophel, perceiving that this was a fatal blunder (although not aware of Hushai's duplicity), hanged himself (2 S 17:23). The battle between the two forces was joined in the forest of Ephraim. David ordered his officers to spare the life of Absalom. In the ensuing battle Absalom was defeated and fled upon a mule; but his long hair, of which he was vain (cf 2 S 14:26), was entangled in the branches of an oak. When he hung helplessly, he was discovered by one of David's soldiers, who informed Joab; and Joab immediately killed him (2 S 18:92ff). David's grief at the news was unrestrained until Joab rebuked him for thinking more of his ungrateful son than of his faithful followers (2 S 19:1 ff).

The story of Absalom reveals some weaknesses both in David's character and in his government. The household of David exhibits the vicious quarrels and hatreds which are a consequence of polygamy; it also exhibits little or no effort of David to rule his own sons, who show incredible selfishness and no sense of duty whatever. The revolt of Absalom could hardly have been so quickly successful if there had not been discontent with David's rule; perhaps his wars had been a strain upon the people, while the booty was distributed among the king and his favorites. The complaint mentioned in 2 S 15:2 ff indicates that the king was inaccessible to the people at large, and

that it was difficult to obtain legal justice. While the rebellion was put down by David's professional troops, there is no evidence that the discontent ceased.

Abyss (Gk *abyssos*), in classical Gk the abode of the dead, used in this sense in Rom 10:7; in Apc the abode of the demons (cf Lk 8:31). The angel* of the abyss is Abaddon* (Apc 9:11). The beast rises from the abyss (Apc 11: 7-8). The destructive powers of the abyss are released by an angel who has the key of the abyss (Apc 9:1-2; 20:1). Cf GEHENNA; SHEOL.

Acacia (Hb *šittīm*), a tree, *Mimosa nilotica*, which grows in Palestine only in the S part of the Jordan valley. It has white round flowers and yellowish-brown light durable wood. It is mentioned in connection with the construction of the ark* of the covenant (Ex 25-27; 30; 35-38; Dt 10:13). In the messianic restoration of the land Yahweh will make the acacia grow in the desert (Is 41:29).

Accad. Cf AKKAD.

Acco (Hb *'akkō*, etymology unknown), a seaport city on the coast of Palestine N of Mt Carmel on the Bay of Acre, the Acre of medieval times, modern Akka. The site is the modern Tell el Fūkār E of Akka. The city was named Ptolemais by Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt during the period when the Ptolemies controlled Palestine; the city appears under this name in 1-2 Mc. It is far and away the best harbor on the coast of Palestine and was the most important port for Palestine until Herod built Caesarea. It is inferior to the Phoenician harbors; the rocky point on which the city lay is exposed to the SW gales. It had excellent communications with the hinterland; the road from Acco through the plain of Esdraelon* was the only lowland highway route from the sea to the Jordan*.

The city is mentioned only a few times in the Bible, but its importance and antiquity are seen in other ancient texts. It is mentioned among the Canaanite cities in the Egyptian execration texts of the 19th century BC. In the Amarna* letters it is ruled by a king Zuratta, probably an Indo-Iranian name. It probably passed into the hands of the Philistines or of the Tjekker when these peoples settled on the Palestinian coast in the 12th century BC. Luli, king of Sidon, ruled it when Sennacherib* received tribute from Luli. Ashur-bani-pal of Assyria* sacked Acco in the middle of the 7th century BC. It was the administrative center of a Persian district.

Acco lay in the territory of Asher*, but the city remained Canaanite (Jgs 1:31). It was under the control of the Seleucids during the Maccabean period (1 Mc 5:15, 22, 55) and was the base of operations of Alexander* and Tryphon* (1 Mc 10:1, 39, 56-60; 11:22, 24; 13:12; 2 Mc 13:24 f), and Jonathan* was captured and imprisoned by Tryphon at Ptolemais (1 Mc 12:45, 48). The gift of the city to the Jerusalem temple promised by Alexander (1 Mc 10:39) was never made. The city was unsuccessfully besieged by Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BC). It was the military port for Herod and the Romans. Paul landed at Ptolemais after his 3rd missionary journey (AA 21:7), where there was already a Christian church.

Achab. Cf AHAB.

Achaea (Gk *achaia*), the old name of the region lying S of the Gulf of Corinth. After the defeat of the Achaean League in 146 BC the Romans placed the district under the provincial government of Macedonia*. In 27 BC Achaea was detached from Macedonia and made a senatorial province. It included continental Greece S of Thessaly (i.e., Boeotia, Attica, the Peloponnesus, and Epirus) and included the cities of Athens and Corinth. It is mentioned most frequently in the NT in connection with Corinth (AA 18:12, 27; 19:21; Rm 15:26; 1 Co 16:15; 2 Co 1:1; 9:2; 11:10; 1 Th 1:7 f).

Achan (Hb *'ākān*, meaning unknown); son of Carmi of the tribe of Judah (Jos 7:1). At the sack of Jericho* Achan had stolen some of the booty, which had been put under the ban*. When the Israelites failed in their first attack against Ai*, some fault was suspected and the culprit was discovered by the oracle of the lot*. The sanctity of the ban was communicated to the thief and to his entire household and possessions; the people were stoned, so that no contact was made with the banned persons, and the articles were burned so that no use of them was possible.

Achaz. Cf AHAZ.

Achimaas. Cf AHIMAAZ.

Achimelech. Cf AHIMELECH.

Achinoam. Cf AHINOAM.

Achior (Gk *achior*), commander of the Ammonites* (Jdt 5:5). When questioned by Holofernes* about the Jews, Achior related their conquest of Canaan* and its peoples and warned Holofernes that he would not suc-

ceed unless the Jews had sinned and thus lost God's protection. Holofernes in anger ordered him to be bound and sent to the Jews to be executed after the city of Bethulia* was taken. Achior was present when Judith* returned from Holofernes; impressed by her deed, he professed faith in the God of the Jews and was circumcised and received into the Jewish community.

Achish (Hb *'akīsh*, probably a foreign name, etymology and meaning unknown; a connection with Anchises has been suggested), ruler of Gath*, a Philistine city, called "king" of Gath, although the Philistine rulers were not kings. Achish, king of Gath in 1 K 2:39, must be a different person. David* fled to Gath first from Saul*; but he was recognized as the Hebrew military hero and feigned madness in order to escape (1 S 21:10 ff). This is a variant account of his service as a mercenary with Achish (1 S 27:1 ff); one form of the tradition refused to accept the information that the great Hebrew hero had served the enemies of Israel for hire. Achish gave him Ziklag* as a residence with the mission to conduct guerrilla raids against the Israelites; the tradition has denied that David was faithful to these instructions, but it is difficult to see how he could have been unfaithful without discovery (1 S 27:6-12). But when David and his men were attached to the Philistine army for battle against Saul, the other Philistine leaders questioned their fidelity, and he was not allowed to take part in the campaign, in spite of his willingness to do so (1 S 29:1-10). It was with the consent of Achish and the other Philistine rulers that David became king at Hebron (2 S 2:4), and he could not have reigned except as a vassal of the Philistines. The story of Achish and David illustrates how popular tradition could gloss over the less attractive features of its hero.

Achitophel. Cf AHITHOPHEL.

Achor (Hb *'ākōr*), the valley where Achan* was stoned (Jos 7:24-26). The play on his name has no support in etymology; *'ākōr*, "trouble," is doubtfully the meaning of the name. It was a point on the boundary of Judah (Jos 15:7), probably W or SW of Jericho*, not certainly identified. In Ho 2:15 the valley of "trouble" will become a "door of hope."

Achsa (Hb *'aksāh*, meaning unknown), daughter of Caleb*, given in marriage to Othniel* in reward for the capture of Kirjath-sepher*. As a wedding gift she asked and received the springs of Upper and

Lower Gullath (Jos 15:16–19, repeated in Jgs 1:12–15).

Achshaph (Hb 'akšāp), a Canaanite town allied with Jabin* of Hazor* and defeated by Joshua (Jos 11:1; 12:20); later in the territory of Asher* (Jos 19:25). It is probably identified with the modern Tell Keisan about ten mi SE of Acco*.

Acts of the Apostles. AA is the 2nd volume of an historical work of which Lk is the 1st volume (AA 1:1). "Acts" (Gk *praxeis*) is a Hellenistic type of literature composed about famous men (Alexander, Hannibal). The Gk title is "acts of apostles," not "acts of the apostles"; the meaning of the term is somewhat indefinite (cf APOSTLE), but it is not limited to the Twelve. The prologue, unlike the prologue of Lk, does not define the scope of the work; this is implied in the words of Jesus in 1:8, "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and all Judaea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." These words summarize the plan of the book. Like Lk, it imitates the form of Hellenistic history, but it is not history in the classical sense. It is the story of the growth of the Church under the impulse of the Holy Spirit* (9:31). The prominence of the Spirit in AA is evident; the book is the gospel of the Spirit, as Lk was the gospel of the Son. The fullness of the Spirit and of the mission of the Church is seen in the expansion of the Church to the Gentile world; once the gospel has reached Rome, the center of the world, the author feels that his story is complete. In this sense AA is a work of the Hellenistic Church, and in this sense it is apologetic as well as historical; cf below.

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Third missionary journey (18:23–20:4). 18:24–28, Apollo; 19:1–22, Ephesus; 19:23–40, riot of the silversmiths at Ephesus; 20:1–4, Macedonia and Achaia.

Final journey of Paul to Jerusalem, 20:5–21:14.

Paul the prisoner for Christ (21:15–28:31). 21:15–26, arrival in Jerusalem and visit of the Jerusalem church; 21:27–40, Paul attacked by Jews and rescued by Romans; 22:1–21, Paul's discourse to the Jews; 22:22–29, Paul in Antonia; 22:30–23:11, Paul before the council; 23:12–23, attempt on Paul's life; 23:23–35, Paul's transfer to Caesarea; 24:1–23, trial before Felix; 24:24–27, postponement of trial; 25:1–12, Paul's appeal to Caesar; 25:13–26:32, Paul before Festus and Agrippa; 27:1–8, voyage to Crete via Myra; 27:9–44, storm, shipwreck at Malta; 28:1–10, Malta; 28:11–16, arrival in Rome; 28:17–31, two year imprisonment and Paul's encounter with the Jews of Rome.

2. *Sources.* The style and vocabulary of AA are uniform with no substantial differences which betray the presence of documentary sources. There are, however, differences between the account of the Jerusalem community and the account of the Gentile missions; but it is obvious that the author depended on testimony for his account of the Jerusalem community. There is wide agreement that the evidence is against written sources for this part of the book; several attempts to identify such sources have not been successful. The author, therefore, depended on oral tradition and anecdote for the material which precedes Paul's second journey. These sources must have been more than one; Dupont points out that different sources should be postulated for the accounts of the primitive Jerusalem community (1–5), of Peter (9:32–11:18; 12), of Philip (8:4–40), of the Antioch community (11:19–30; 13:1–3), of the conversion of Paul and his first journey and part of the second (9:1–30; 13:4–14:28; 15:36 ff). The second half of AA is dominated by the "We Sections" (16:10–17; 20:5–21:18; 27:1–28:16). In these the use of "we" indicates that the narrator was present; it can be deduced that the

narrator joined Paul at Troas on his second journey, traveled with him as far as Philippi, rejoined him at Philippi on his return from the third journey, and was with him from this point to the end of the book. Efforts to make the narrator of the "We" sections a companion of Paul distinct from the author of the entire book have never convinced many scholars; the uniformity of the style of the book is opposed to this hypothesis.

3. *Language and Style.* AA has a rich vocabulary and is written generally in very good Gk which attempts to follow classical usage. The style usually but not always flows easily, and the narrative is generally lively and moving, with a flair for the dramatic. This general tone is in striking contrast to occasional vulgar Koine idioms and Semitisms. To some extent this is due to the effort of the author to adjust the language to the persons and situations of the incidents; it is also due to the fact that they were found in his oral sources for the Jerusalem community, for it is in this part of the book that most of the differences in style occur. The "We Sections" are the most lively and graphic part of the book, with abundant and exact details, frequent mention of personal names, and statements of chronology (18:11; 19:8-10; 20:31; 24:27; 28:30). The first part of the book is less graphic and attempts no chronology at all (cf below).

4. *Historical Character.* The "Tendency Criticism" of the Tübingen School of the middle 19th century placed AA in the 2nd century and interpreted it as a theological document which was intended to compromise the differences between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity represented by Peter; little historical value was given it. Modern criticism mostly avoids such extreme historical skepticism; but an excessive skepticism is shown by some writers who believe that AA is apologetic, written to vindicate Christianity both before Judaism, of which the author wishes to show it is the legitimate development, and before the Roman government, to which the author wishes to represent Christianity as a cult harmless to public order and deserving of the legal position of *religio licita*, a lawful religion. Such an apologetic purpose does indeed seem to be present; but it does not weaken the historical character of the book unless one assumes that it is impossible to present this apologetic by simply stating the truth. More evident than the ends suggested is the desire of the author to vindicate the expansion of Christianity to the Gentiles as the legitimate fulfillment of the mission of Jesus and the work of the Holy Spirit.

Questions of the historical character of AA do not arise concerning the general character of the work but about particular passages and

questions; and it is possible to solve these problems only if one grants that the historical quality of the work is not uniform throughout. The differences of style noted above between the first and the second parts also extend to the contents. The atmosphere of thaumaturgy and charismatic operations is much more prominent in the first part than it is in the second, and it is not present at all in the "We Sections." This suggests that the oral tradition concerning the primitive community had heightened these elements somewhat in the accounts which the author received; and there is room for further detailed study of the single episodes and of their sources.

AA establishes no chronology, especially for the first part; but where the narrative comes in contact with extrabiblical sources no chronological difficulty is raised, and a combination of AA with these sources permits solidly probable dates. From the first Pentecost to Stephen should have been about three years (AD 30-33?). No set time can be calculated for the dispersion of the Jerusalem community and the conversion of Paul. The community of Antioch was probably founded between AD 38-40. From external data the death of Herod Agrippa is to be placed in AD 44, the famine under Claudius AD 49-55. Gallio* was at Corinth in AD 51-52, and this gives a fixed point for Paul's presence there. Festus replaced Felix as procurator most probably in AD 59-60, although AD 55 is a possible date. The end of the book is to be set at AD 63.

The discourses of AA present a special problem. They are 18 in number and occupy about ¼ of the book: Peter (1:15 ff; 2:14 ff; 3:12 ff; 4:8 ff); Gamaliel (5:34 ff); Stephen (7:2 ff); Paul (13:16 ff; 14:15 ff); Peter and James (15); Paul (17:22 ff); the clerk of Ephesus (19:35 ff); Paul (20:18 ff; 22:1 ff); Tertullus (24:2 ff); Paul (24:10 ff; 26:2 ff; 28:17 ff). It was a standard literary pattern of classical historians to compose speeches for their characters to be delivered at critical moments. Those speeches did not pretend to be records of what was said; the historian employed them as vehicles of his own analysis and interpretation of events. Thucydides said that where he had no record of the words uttered, he wrote what he thought the speaker might have said appropriate to the occasion. Were Luke's speeches of this character, he would have violated no canon of ancient historiography; and he did, with some slight differences in detail, present the characters as speaking in his own style.

There are indications, however, that Luke constructed the speeches upon a summary report of the discourses themselves. "Their historical value lies in their faithful preservation

of the themes of the primitive preaching rather than in their exact agreement with the situation" (L. Cerfaux). The primitive teaching of the gospel is reconstructed by modern critics from the discourses of AA. The Christology and eschatology of the discourses of Peter are archaic; and the discourses of Paul do not contain the more elaborate teaching of the epistles. These are not the personal reflections and analyses of the author; they are for him constitutive elements of the history which he reports, for the object of the history is precisely the spread of the gospel by its preaching. When the apostles speak, they speak that which is given them (Lk 21:15).

The conversion of Cornelius, it has been argued by M. Dibelius, has received a theological interpretation which is due entirely to the author and his desire to justify the reception of the Gentiles on terms of freedom. W. C. van Unnik has argued similarly that the significance of the episode is not presented accurately; Cornelius, as a Gentile proselyte*, was eligible for membership in the community with no dispute, but the author has made it a decisive step toward a Gentile Christianity. These hypotheses presuppose a kind of apologetic which cannot be demonstrated in AA; on the difficulties which are recorded concerning Peter's acceptance of Gentile Christianity cf. PETER.

AA compared to the epistles of Paul does not render an account in all respects harmonious; and it must be remembered that the epistles are a primary source, while AA is secondary. There is no discord between the personal portrait of Paul in AA and Paul as revealed in his own writings, nor between the theology of the epistles and the discourses of AA, although Pauline theology appears in AA only in isolated features. A number of critics, however, have pointed out that Paul's Judaism is emphasized in AA (13:46; 16:3; 18:6, 18; 21:23 ff; 23:6; 24:14 ff; 28:25 ff), while Paul himself is inclined to reject his Jewish background (Rm 7; Gal 2:3 ff; Phl 3:7). These critics deduce that the harmonizing of the author consisted not only in making Peter more Gentile, but also in making Paul more Jewish. The facts seem to be that both Peter and Paul showed a flexible and at times an uncertain approach to the problem (cf. Rm 9:1 ff; 11:13 ff; 1 Co 9:20; 2 Co 11:18, 22; Phl 3:4 ff). The ambiguity of the documents seems to be an accurate reflection of the ambiguity of the situation. AA also omits some interesting features: details of the controversy between Jewish and Gentile Christians, the conflicts in the churches of Galatia and Corinth.

No such easy explanation is available for

the differences between the accounts of some of the episodes of Paul's life in AA and the epistles. AA mentions three journeys of Paul to Jerusalem up to and including the council of Jerusalem (9:26-30; 11:30 and 12:25; 15:1); Paul insists on two separated by 14 years (Gal 2:1). If AA 15 and Gal 2:1-10 describe the same event, there are a number of striking divergences; if they do not describe the same event, it is nearly impossible to relate the two. Luke describes a council, Paul describes a discussion with three of his equals. Luke quotes a decision of the council which Paul does not mention at all. No combination of dates permits the hypothesis that Gal was written before the council. AA 15 and Gal 2 agree that a decision was made that circumcision was not necessary for Gentile converts; it can hardly be supposed that such a solemn and far-reaching decision was made twice, or that Paul was ignorant of it. Some have suggested that Paul did not mention the decree because he did not think it was relevant to predominantly Gentile churches; others suggest that it was intended only for Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, where there was a large number of Jewish Christians. Still others have suggested that the decree was not drawn up at the council and that Luke has antedated it. These explanations are highly hypothetical and raise as many questions as they answer. J. Dupont has proposed a more radical explanation. The famine in Palestine is to be dated under the procurator Tiberius Alexander, AD 46-48; the journey of Paul and Barnabas with the collection is to be dated AD 49, the year of the council; therefore AA has made two journeys (11:30 + 12:25 and 15:1) out of one. On the other hand, Dupont suggests that AA's "council of Jerusalem" is a conflation of two different discussions, distinguished in Gal 2:1-10 and 2:11-14, one concerning circumcision and the other concerning dietary regulations. In this hypothesis AA could scarcely have obtained the data from Paul, and it is abundantly clear that AA does not employ the epistles as a source. This is confirmed by the character of the council narrative, which represents the apostles and elders as the supreme authority before whom Paul and Barnabas appear, while Paul represents a discussion between apostles of equal rank. Critics are unquestionably right in seeing here the Jewish-Christian account which is the source of AA. An effect of this source is possibly seen in the author's conception of apostle, which always means the Twelve; he does not give the title to Paul. There also seems to be little doubt that the "decree" is the author's summary of several principles laid down by

the Jerusalem community which were never published in this form.

5. *Author, Place, Date.* Tradition from Irenaeus identifies the author of AA as Luke. Modern criticism generally accepts the identification and with it the identification of Luke as the narrator of the "We Sections." It is certain that Lk-AA are the work of the same author. The place appears to be Rome. The date is more ambiguous. Irenaeus says AA was written after the death of Paul; Eusebius, followed by Jerome, says it was written during Paul's Roman imprisonment, at the point where the book ends. The question is connected with the question why AA ends so abruptly with no further data on the death of Paul and on the church of Rome, the foundation of which AA does not relate. H. F. D. Sparks suggests three explanations: (1) because that is when AA was written; (2) because an intended 3rd volume was never written; (3) because Luke chose to end his account there. #1 is extremely improbable not in itself, but because it is impossible to combine it with the dating of the Gospels (cf MATTHEW; MARK; LUKE; SYNOPTIC QUESTION). #2 is a gratuitous assumption. #3 is most in accord with the characteristics of Luke. That he selects his material is evident from the above discussion of the work. The plan of AA, Jerusalem to Rome, corresponds with the plan of Lk, Galilee to Jerusalem. Once AA has reached Rome, the center of the world, the account of the expansion of the Church has reached a terminus; the impossible has been achieved, and the gospel has become a world gospel. The critical consensus places the date of composition in the period AD 70-90.

Adah (Hb 'ādāh, "ornament"?), wife of Lamech* (Gn 4:19); wife of Esau* (Gn 36:2).

Adam (Hb 'ādām, "man," etymology uncertain; "ruddy"?), the first man*. The usual translation of the word as a proper name, Adam, is an error; he is called "the man" up to Gn 4:25, where the proper name first appears.

The man was made of dust from the soil (Hb 'ādāmāh); the play on words may rest upon an etymological connection. The manufacture of man from clay is found in both Egypt and Mesopotamia; the divine component in Mesopotamia was blood (Gn 2:7). The Hb account replaces this gross element with the breath of God, the principle of life* (cf SPIRIT). On the relations of Gn 1 and 2 cf CREATION. The man is placed in a garden in Eden*; the contrast between this primitive bliss and man's historical condition is evident (Gn 2:9). No

restraint is placed upon the man except the prohibition to eat of the tree of knowledge (Gn 2:16-17). The superiority of man over the beasts is shown by his naming them (Gn 2:19-20). In the ancient world to give a name was a sign of authority; it also exhibits the intelligence of the man. No animal is suitable as a companion to the man; God creates woman from the body of the man (Gn 2:20-24). The creation of woman from the man signifies her true humanity and equality with the male; God did not intend her to be a depressed class, as she was in the ancient world (cf EVE; WOMAN). The couple are unclothed; this signifies control of the sexual appetite (Gn 2:25). The two are tempted by the serpent* to eat the forbidden fruit and are expelled from Eden (cf FALL). A penalty is inflicted on each of the three. The curse of the man implies that the soil shall no longer be docile and fertile for him; he must wring his living from it by hard labor, and ultimately he must die (Gn 3:17-19). Neither toil nor death were found in the unspoiled simplicity of Eden. After the expulsion the man begets Cain* and Abel* (Gn 4:1-2) and Seth* (Gn 4:25).

This account is neither a scientific explanation of the origin of man (cf MAN) nor a history of the beginning of the race in the proper sense of the word. On the literary characteristics of the story cf FALL.

Adam is mentioned in the genealogy of 1 Ch 1:1. In him and Eve is seen the ideal of marriage (Tb 8:6). He is the first man (WS 7:1), protected in his solitude by wisdom (WS 10:1). All men, like Adam, come from the ground (BS 33:10), and he was above every living thing in his creation (BS 49:16); but a heavy yoke rests upon his sons (BS 40:1, the only OT allusion which could refer to the Fall).

In contrast with the OT, Adam is very frequently mentioned in the apocryphal* books of the Jews, in which the Paradise story is embellished with many additional features. The Life of Adam and Eve contains a fanciful account of the Fall and what followed. II Baruch rationalizes the Fall by stating that each man is his own Adam.

Adam is mentioned in the genealogy of Lk (3:38). Paul makes Adam a "type" of the one to come, i.e., Christ; as death and sin came into the world through one man, so forgiveness and life come through one man (Rm 5:12 ff; cf SIN). The same typology is employed of the resurrection of the body (1 Co 15:45); as the first Adam became a living creature, the last Adam (Christ) is a life-giving spirit.

Adam (Hb 'ādām), a town on the Jordan

near Zarethan* where the waters were blocked when the Israelites crossed the river (Jos 3:16), probably the modern Tell ed-Damiyyeh.

Adar (Hb *'ādār*), the 12th month of the later Jewish calendar*, roughly corresponding to our February.

Adasa (Gk *adasa*), a town between Jerusalem and Beth Horon (1 Mc 7:40, 45), probably the modern Khirbet Addaseh about 5 mi N of Jerusalem.

Admah (Hb *'admāh*, etymology uncertain), one of the five cities of the plain destroyed with Sodom* (Gn 10:19; 14:2, 8), a proverbial example of the anger of Yahweh (Dt 29:22; Ho 11:8); always mentioned with Zeboiim*.

Adonibezek (Hb *'adōnībezēk*, "lord of Bezek"?), Canaanite king of Bezek*, defeated by Judah* (Jgs 1:5-7). His thumbs and great toes were cut off; this barbarous punishment he himself had inflicted upon others. The story is probably a variant of the defeat of Adonizedek* (Jos 10:1 ff); this name is read in Jgs 1:5-7 by many critics.

Adonijah (Hb *'adōnīyāh*, "my lord is Yah[weh]"), son of David* and Haggith* (2 S 3:4). During David's last illness Adonijah, the eldest surviving son, expected to succeed to the throne; the Israelite monarchy had as yet no regular law of succession, which lay within the appointment of the king and had to be ratified by the tribes. In his party were Joab* and Abiathar*. He summoned his supporters to a banquet to celebrate his accession. On hearing this Nathan*, who supported Solomon*, warned Solomon's mother Bathsheba* that their lives would not be safe if Adonijah assumed the throne. Bathsheba then spoke to David, who appointed Solomon co-regent (1 K 1 ff). The premature celebration of Adonijah was abruptly ended, and he fled for sanctuary to the altar (1 K 1:50); but Solomon spared his life, confining him to his house. Adonijah, after David's death, asked Bathsheba to intercede for him that he might have Abishag*, who had cared for David during his last illness. Solomon took this as an arrogation of the privileges of royalty and sent Benaiah* to kill him (2 K 2:1 ff). The name Adonijah is borne by two other men in the OT (2 Ch 17:8; Ne 10:17).

Adoniram (Hb *'adōnīrām*, "the Lord [i.e., god] is exalted"), also Adoram (2 S 20:24; 1 K 12:18) and Hadoram (1 Ch 10:18);

the prefect of forced labor under David* (2 S 20:24), Solomon* (1 K 4:6; 5:28) and Rehoboam* (1 K 12:18). Rehoboam sent him to quell the revolt which broke out at his accession, but Adoniram was stoned by the mob (1 K 12:18). It is possible but unlikely that the same officer survived from David to Rehoboam, and his name may have been put into 2 S 20:24 from a list of Solomon's officers. In the ancient monarchies of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria each able-bodied man could be impressed for royal labor service; this usually happened during the inactive agricultural seasons. Such labor service made possible the colossal monuments of antiquity.

Adonizedek (Hb *'adōnīšedēk*, "my lord is righteousness"? or "my lord is Sedek [a god]"), Canaanite king of Jerusalem, one of the five kings defeated by Joshua* (Jos 10:1 ff). The five kings were hanged (or impaled) after the battle. Adonizedek and Adonibezek* (Jgs 1:5-7) may be variants of the same name.

Adoption 1. *OT*. No provision for adoption is found in Hb law*. The only two clear instances of adoption are those of Moses by an Egyptian princess (Ex 2:10) and Esther* by her uncle Mordecai* (Est 2:7). Adoption was extremely common in Mesopotamia, however; the legal codes provided for it and numerous contracts of adoption have been preserved. It is unlikely that this common practice did not occur among the Hebrews; the reception of non-Hebrew persons and families into the Hebrew community suggests their adoption. The terms of the covenants* of Yahweh with Israel* (Ex 4:22) and David* (Ps 2:7) are those of adoption.

2. *NT*. The fatherhood of God was central in the preaching of Jesus and is found through the NT (cf GOD; FATHER). Paul is the only writer to use the Gk legal term of adoption (*hyiothesia*). The legal process of adoption was based upon the despotic rights of father over children in Roman law (*patria potestas*) and conferred upon the adopted person the full rights and obligations of a son. It was analogous to the redemption* of a slave*. Paul counts adoption among the privileges of Israel (Rm 9:4; cf Ex 4:22). Christian adoption is the regeneration of the Christian as a child of God. Christ has ransomed us from slavery into adoption; we are sons and therefore heirs and free from vain observances (Gal 4:5 ff). Christians have not the fear of slaves, but the awareness of their adoption; they are heirs of the sufferings and of the glory of Christ (Rm 8:15 ff). By redemption we

have the glorious freedom of the children of God (Rm 8:21 ff). Adoption enables us to address God by the familiar title of Abba* (Rm 8:15; Gal 4:6). Christ is the firstborn of many brothers (Rm 8:29; Col 1:18). Those who believe in Christ are born not of nature, nor of carnal impulse nor human desire, but of God (Jn 1:12-13). We are sons of God in Christ through faith, which we receive through baptism (Gal 3:26-27). This makes the Christian a new being (1 Co 5:17), created in the likeness of God, as Adam was, in true righteousness and holiness (Eph 4:24). It is from the Father's love for us that we are called His children and hence we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is (1 Jn 3:1 ff). The child of God has the seed of divine life in him and hence cannot sin (1 Jn 3:9); he partakes of the divine nature (2 Pt 1:4).

Adrammelech (Hb *'adrammelek*, probably Akkadian *adad-milki*, "Adad is my king").

1. A god worshiped by the colonists from Sepharvaim* settled in Samaria* by Sargon* of Assyria* (2 K 17:31), probably identical with Hadad*. 2. Son of Sennacherib* of Assyria, who with his brother Sarezer* murdered Sennacherib in 681 bc (2 K 19:37; Is 37:38). The murder is recorded in Assyrian annals, but the names of the murderers are not preserved.

Adramyttium (Gk *adramytteion*), modern Edremit in Turkey, a seaport on the NW coast of Asia Minor at the head of the Gulf of Edremit; the home port of the ship in which Paul sailed from Caesarea* to Myra* in Lycia (AA 27:2).

Adria (Gk *adrias*), the sea of Adria where Paul's ship was driven by the storm (AA 27:27). The ancient name includes not only the modern Adriatic (between Italy and the Balkan peninsula) but also the sea between Crete and Sicily, where the ship of Paul was sailing when it was wrecked.

Adullam (Hb *'adullām*), a town of Judah (Jos 15:35), included in the list of towns conquered by Joshua (Jos 12:15), associated with the story of Judah and Tamar* (Gn 38:1, 12, 20). It was a camp of David during his flight from Saul (1 S 22:1) and his war with the Philistines, to which his heroes brought him a drink of water from the spring of Bethlehem (2 S 23:13; 1 Ch 11:15). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11:7) and was one of the towns resettled after the exile (Ne 11:30). Mi 1:15 may allude to 1 S 22:1; 2 S 23:13; critics suggest a slight change to read "Forever will perish

from Adullam the glory of Israel." This would give a play on words (*'ad 'ōlām* [forever] = *'adullām*) characteristic of this passage of Mi. David, "the glory of Israel," escaped from Saul at Adullam, but the dynasty will not escape the coming disaster there. The site is probably the modern Tell esh Sheikh Madkar in the Shephelah*, about 10 mi ENE of Beit Jibrin.

Adultery. Strictly, sexual intercourse of man and woman one or both of whom is bound by marriage to another person.

1. OT. The Hebrew morality of adultery rested upon the primitive conception of the wife as the property of the husband. Only the rights of the husband could be violated. Hence illicit intercourse was not adultery if the woman were unmarried. The wife and her partner could violate the rights of her husband, but the wife had no rights which her husband could violate. Adultery is prohibited both in act and in desire in the Decalogue* (Ex 20:13, 17; Dt 5:18, 21). It is also prohibited in the Holiness Code (cf LAW; Lv 20:10) and in Dt 22:22. Intercourse with a betrothed maiden is treated as adultery (Dt 22:23 ff); but intercourse with an uncommitted girl involves the obligation of payment of damages and marriage (Dt 22:28 ff). The punishment of adultery is death for both parties; stoning* is the penalty in Ezk 16:40 (cf Jn 8:3); burning was threatened for Tamar*, a betrothed widow, by Judah*, but this belongs to an earlier period (Gn 38:24). Ezk 16:37 ff (cf Ho 2:5) indicates that the adulteress was stripped naked before execution; probably her hair was cropped also.

The number of warnings against adultery in wisdom literature suggests that the crime was fairly common; the sages imply some reflection on the looseness of Israelite wives. This may be founded in fact; marriages by contract of purchase must frequently have been loveless (cf Pr 2:16 ff; 5:15 ff; the vivid description of the adulterous wife in Pr 7:1 ff; 23:27 f; 30:20). Apostasy of Israel from Yahweh is termed adultery in Je 2:20 ff; 3:8; Ezk 16:1 ff; Ho 2:4 ff; 3:1; +. Cf COVENANT.

2. NT. Jesus repeated the 6th commandment (Mt 5:27; 19:18; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20), adding that the desire is as malicious as the deed (Mt 5:28). The commandment is repeated in Rm 13:9; Js 2:11. On the adulteress of Jn 8:1 ff cf JOHN, GOSPEL. Fidelity to the marriage bond is enumerated among the obligations of Christians (1 Th 4:3; Heb 13:4).

Adummin (Hb *'adummîm*, "redness"?), the name of a pass on the boundary between

Judah and Benjamin. It is very probably to be located in the Wadi el Kelt on the modern road from Jerusalem to Jericho at the site of Khan el Hatrur, "Inn of the Good Samaritan," where the soil is heavily reddened by patches of red ochre.

Aeneas (Gk *aineas*), a Christian of Lydda* cured of paralysis by Peter* after eight years' illness (AA 9:33-34).

Aenon (Gk *ainon*), where John baptized (Jn 3:23); "near Salim" in the Jordan* valley, but the exact location is unknown.

Agabus (Gk *agabos*), probably a Gk form of a Semitic name; a Jewish-Christian prophet* from Jerusalem who came to Antioch and predicted a famine throughout the Roman Empire (AA 11:28). The famine under Claudius occurred AD 49. It was doubtless the same Agabus who later predicted the imprisonment of Paul* at Jerusalem (AA 21:10 ff).

Agag (Hb *'agag*, etymology uncertain). The word appears in Phoenician. Possibly the word is a royal title (like Pharaoh), not a personal name. 1. A king (Nm 24:7); the context suggests a mythological character. 2. King of the Amalekites* (1 S 15:8 ff). Under instructions of an oracle from Samuel* Saul* put the Amalekites under the ban*. When he spared the life of Agag, he was bitterly rebuked by Samuel for his disobedience. Samuel himself then hewed Agag to pieces before the altar of Yahweh in Gilgal*. In one tradition this was the occasion of the schism of Saul and Samuel; cf SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.

Agar. Cf HAGAR.

Agora. Cf MARKET.

Agrippa. Marcus Julius Agrippa (Agrippa II), son of Herod* Agrippa (Agrippa I), called Agrippa in the NT (AA 25-26). When his father died in AD 44 Agrippa was regarded by Claudius as too young to succeed him, and the rule was entrusted to his uncle, Herod*, brother of Agrippa I and king of Chalcis, a small principality lying between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. His uncle died in AD 48, and the kingdom was granted to Agrippa II in AD 50. In AD 53 in exchange for Chalcis he was granted the territories which had formerly been governed by Philip* and Lysanias* as well as some portions of Galilee and Perea. Like his father, he was careful to win the goodwill of the Jews by deference to Jewish law and custom; at the same time he was a patron of Hellenistic

culture and religion. He contributed to the erection of the temple in Jerusalem, but a dispute arose when he constructed a terrace on his palace from which he could observe the temple area. Agrippa and Bernice* were present at Caesarea* when the new procurator, Festus*, found Paul in prison, and they asked that Paul might be permitted to speak to them. The discourse moved Agrippa so much that he said that Paul almost made him a Christian; it is doubtful, however, that the remark was made seriously. The Bernice who accompanied him was his sister, the widow of Herod of Chalcis, and the relation of the two was openly incestuous. When the Jewish revolt broke out in AD 66, Agrippa and Bernice returned to Palestine and did all they could to prevent the revolt from going any further. When they were unsuccessful, they remained stoutly loyal to Rome throughout the war. After the war he received territories temporarily lost together with new grants. The date of his death is not certain, but he seems to have governed his territories peacefully until about AD 100.

Agur (Hb *'ägür*, etymology uncertain), son of Jakeh; the sage to whom the collection of proverbs in Pr 30:1-33 is attributed.

Ahab (Hb *'ah 'ab*, "father's brother"? but explanation uncertain). 1. The son of Omri* and king of Israel 869-850 bc. His queen was Jezebel*, daughter of Ethbaal*, king of Tyre*. The point of interest in the biblical account of Ahab (1 K 16:29-22:40) lies not in the king himself, but in his encounters with the prophets, especially Elijah. Four of these are related. The first is the account of the drought threatened by Elijah (1 K 17:1 ff) which ended with the ordeal on Mt Carmel (1 K 18:16-46), at which Ahab was present; cf ELIJAH. The second involved two unnamed prophets, one of whom encouraged Ahab in his resistance to Ben-hadad* of Damascus* (1 K 20:22), while the other rebuked him for sparing the life of Ben-hadad after his victory (1 K 20:35-43). The third was the episode of the vineyard of Naboth*. Naboth refused to sell Ahab his vineyard; Jezebel suborned false witnesses who charged Naboth with blasphemy, and the king took possession of the land after the execution. For this Elijah threatened the total destruction of his house, and Ahab did penance for his part in the crime (1 K 21:1 ff). The fourth occurred in the beginning of the campaign of Ahab to recover Ramoth-Gilead* from the Aramaeans (1 K 22:1 ff). A group of prophets predicted success for the king. Jehoshaphat* of Judah, his ally, distrusted these prophets

and asked that others be summoned. The man summoned was Micaiah* ben Imlah, who at first also predicted success; but when pressed for an honest answer, he foretold defeat. The king had him put in custody until his return from the campaign; this never happened, for Ahab was killed by an archer in the battle.

The judgment of the compiler of 1-2 K on Ahab is extremely harsh. Ahab probably did not abandon the worship of Yahweh; but he permitted Jezebel to patronize the cult of the Baal of Tyre. He did not commit the crime of Naboth's murder, but was willing to accept its profits. He seems to have been religiously indifferent; to him Elijah was the "troubler of Israel" (1 K 18:17), because he made an issue of whether Israel should worship the Baal or Yahweh.

The account in Kings does not reveal the ability and success of Ahab as a ruler. The excavations of Samaria* have disclosed the magnificence of his buildings (1 K 22:39). The two accounts of his battles with the Aramaeans of Damascus show that his father, Omri, had been unable to shake off the Aramaean hegemony. Ahab was besieged in Samaria by Ben-hadad, but defeated him by a sortie (1 K 20:15 ff). The Aramaeans excused their defeat because they had fought the Israelites on their own ground; the gods of Israel were gods of the mountains. In the following year they drew Israel into battle in the plain near Aphek*, where their chariotry could maneuver; here also Ahab defeated them. As a result Ben-hadad conceded the Israelites the same trading rights in Damascus which the Aramaeans had hitherto enjoyed in Samaria (1 K 20:34); from this we learn at least one of the causes of the constant wars of Israel and Damascus. Ahab failed to recover Ramoth-gilead; but his conduct after he was wounded by an arrow was that of a brave man. He insisted that he be propped up in his chariot so that his troops might not fall into panic if they saw the king shot down, and as a consequence he bled to death.

The overlordship of Ahab over Judah is shown by his treatment of Jehoshaphat in the campaign of Ramoth-gilead. His daughter Athaliah* married Jehoram* of Judah and held the throne for six years after Jehoram's death. Ahab also held Moab* in subjection; after his death Mesha*, king of Moab, successfully revolted. The revolt is recorded in the inscription of Mesha. The "son" of Omri mentioned by Mesha must be Jehoram* of Israel, not Ahab. Ahab is mentioned by Shalmaneser* III of Assyria as one of the allied kings at the battle of Karkar in 853 BC. Ahab's contingent of chariots, 2000, is the largest of the allies, and

the number of soldiers, 10,000, is exceeded only by Damascus.

2. The name Ahab is also born by a false prophet, the son of Kolaiah. Jeremiah accused him of adultery and impiety and threatened him with death by fire by Nebuchadnezzar (Je 29:21 ff).

Ahasuerus (Hb ^ahashwērōsh, Persian *khshayarsha*, Gk *Xerxes*), king of Persia* 485-465 BC (Ezr 4:6); a son, Darius*, is mentioned in Dn 9:1. After the defeat of his expedition against Greece at Salamis (480 BC) and Plataea (479 BC) Xerxes was assassinated. According to the book of Esther he quarreled with his queen Vashti* and sought out the most beautiful maiden in his empire to replace her; the Jewish maiden Esther* was selected. Cf ESTHER; HAMAN; MORDECAI; PURIM.

Ahava (Hb ^ahāwā, etymology uncertain), a local name in Babylonia, given to a place (Ezr 8:15) and to the neighboring stream (Ezr 8:21, 31). It is not mentioned elsewhere and can be located only near Babylon. At this point Ezra* assembled the party which was to return to Jerusalem.

Ahaz (Hb ^ahāz, probably abbreviated from Jehoahaz, "Yahweh grasps the hand"), son of Jotham* and king of Judah 735-715 BC. Almost immediately after his accession he was invited by Rezin* of Damascus* and Pekah* of Israel* to join a coalition against the advance of the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser* III (2 K 16:1 ff; Is 7:1 ff). When Ahaz refused, the two kingdoms invaded Judah and Ahaz appealed to the Assyrians for help, offering submission and tribute (2 K 16:7 ff). The Assyrians took Samaria* in 734 BC and Damascus in 732 BC, and Ahaz was saved by becoming a vassal of Assyria. This policy was stoutly opposed by Isaiah*, who counseled political inactivity and faith in Yahweh, which he offered to strengthen by a sign (Is 7:3 ff). Ahaz refused the sign and received instead the sign of Emmanuel* (Is 7:14), with a threat that his policy would prove disastrous. The Chronicler mentions military disasters suffered in the Syro-Ephraimite invasion which are not mentioned in Kings (2 Ch 28:5 ff). The same source reports invasion by the Philistines* and loss of several cities (2 Ch 28:18 ff); both sources mention the invasion by Edom* in which Elath* was recovered (2 K 16:6; 2 Ch 28:17). Ahaz initiated a religious movement of syncretism; but his model was Assyria rather than Damascus (2 Ch 28:23). A new altar for the temple was constructed after the model of an altar of Damascus (2 K 16:10 ff).

Some of the temple furniture was removed, doubtless to make up the tribute to Assyria (2 K 16:17 ff; 2 Ch 28:21, 24 ff). The "steps" of Ahaz (sundial? 2 K 20:11; Is 38:8) and the upper chamber of Ahaz removed by Josiah* (2 K 23:12) may refer to some religious innovation. Ahaz is the Iauhazi (Jehoahaz) of Judah mentioned in a list of tributary kings of Tiglath-pileser III. The harsh judgment of the historians of Kings and Chronicles upon his religion is shared by Isaiah, who also condemned his politics.

Ahaziah (Hb *'ahazyāh*, *'ahazyāhū*, "Yahweh grasps [the hand]"). 1. Son of Ahab* and king of Israel c 850–849 bc. According to 2 Ch 20:35 ff Ahaziah was associated with Jehoshaphat* of Judah in the expedition to Ophir which was wrecked at Ezion-geber*, the port of departure; a variant tradition asserts that he asked to be associated, but Jehoshaphat refused (1 K 22:48 ff). The tradition in Ch is probably a rationalization of the failure of the expedition. Moab rebelled under Ahaziah (2 K 1:1) but no action was taken. Ahaziah fell from a window and sent to ask an oracle of Baal-zebul*, the god of Ekron*. For this superstition Elijah* threatened him with death, which followed shortly (2 K 1:2–18).

2. Son of Jehoram* and Athaliah* and king of Judah c 842 bc. He was allied with Jehoram* of Israel in an unsuccessful campaign to recover Ramoth-gilead* from Hazael* of Damascus* (2 K 8:28). Jehoram was wounded in the battle and rested from his wounds in Jezreel. Ahaziah visited him there, and during the visit Jehoram was assassinated by Jehu* (2 K 9:1 ff). Ahaziah fled in his chariot, but was pursued by Jehu's archers and wounded near Ibleam*; he continued to Megiddo*, where he died (2 K 9:27 ff). In the variant tradition of 2 Ch 22:7–9 he was captured, taken to Samaria, and there killed.

Ahijah (Hb *'ahīyah*, "brother of Yah[weh]"), a prophet of Shiloh* who urged Jeroboam* to rebel against Solomon*, promising him that ten tribes would follow him (1 K 11:29 ff). As a symbolic action to emphasize his prediction he tore his new garment into 12 pieces and gave ten to Jeroboam. Ahijah was the spokesman for the prophetic groups, whose dissatisfaction with Solomon's religious laxity joined with the popular dissatisfaction at his absolutism to create the rebellion. Jeroboam had to flee the assassins of Solomon, who must have heard of the message of Ahijah, and the rebellion did not occur until after Solomon's death. Ahijah in turn found that Jeroboam was no better religiously

than Solomon. When Jeroboam's son fell ill, his mother came to seek an oracle from Ahijah, who predicted the violent extinction of the house of Jeroboam (1 K 14:1 ff). The name Ahijah is borne by eight others in the OT, including a priest of Shiloh of the house of Eli* (1 S 14:3), one of Solomon's scribes (1 K 4:3), and the father of Baasha*, who assassinated Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and succeeded to the throne of Israel (1 K 15:27).

Ahikar. Among the Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine* in Egypt and first published in 1906 were included extensive fragments of the story of Ahikar, which was much diffused in the ancient E. Ahikar was chancellor of Sennacherib* and Esarhaddon* of Assyria. In his old age his son Nadin succeeded to his office; but Nadin slandered Ahikar to the king, who ordered the execution of Ahikar. Ahikar escaped by persuading the officer Nabusumiskun to substitute another in his place. With the story is included a selection of wise sayings of Ahikar. This story is unquestionably alluded to in Tb, where Achiacharus is the chancellor of Esarhaddon (Tb 1:21), who supports Tobit after his blindness (Tb 2:10) and visits him after his cure with his nephew Nasbas (Nadin? Tb 11:18). The misadventure of Ahikar is alluded to in Tb 14:10, where his adversary is called Haman. Ahikar is represented as a nephew of Tobit, and therefore Jewish (1:21). Only one of these allusions (11:18) is found in the recension of Tobit which is translated in the Vulgate.

Ahimaaz (Hb *'ahīma'as*, meaning uncertain), son of Zadok*, priest. While Zadok and Abiathar* remained in Jerusalem during the rebellion of Absalom*, Ahimaaz and Jonathan* concealed themselves at En-rogel to communicate with David. The plans of Absalom were disclosed to them by Hushai* and the priests; but they were discovered by a boy and forced to hide in a well at Bahurim* with the assistance of a family of David's sympathizers (2 S 17:17 ff). Then they hurried to tell David that Absalom's pursuit, on the counsel of Hushai, had been delayed. Ahimaaz also begged the privilege of bearing the news of Absalom's death to David, but when he arrived he lost courage and announced only the victory and waited for another messenger to tell the death of Absalom; for "a good man brings good news" (2 S 18:19 ff). The bearer of bad news might easily be slain. The name Ahimaaz is also borne by the father of Ahinoam*, Saul's wife (1 S 14:50), and by the prefect of the district of Naphtali*

under Solomon, who was married to Basemath, a daughter of Solomon (1 K 4:15).

Ahimelech (Hb *'ahimelek*, "the brother is king," or "the brother is Milk?"), son of Ahitub of the house of Eli*, and priest* at Nob*. David fled to Nob from Saul* and quieted Ahimelech's fears by telling him that he was on a secret mission. David asked for refreshment, but Ahimelech had nothing except the shewbread*, which David took (1 S 21:1 ff; cf Mt 12:1-8; Mk 2:23-28; Lk 6:1-5). David also asked for a sword, but found nothing except the sword of Goliath*. This hospitality was disclosed to Saul by Doeg* the Edomite, and Saul accused Ahimelech of conspiracy with David. Saul's retainers would not carry out the order of execution, because the priests' persons were sacred; but no scruple troubled Doeg, who killed all the priests, eighty-five in number, except Abiathar*, and sacked the city of Nob. The name Ahimelech is also borne by a Hittite*, an early companion of David (1 S 26:6).

Ahinoam (Hb *'ahinō'am*, "my brother is delight"). 1. Wife of Saul (1 S 14:50). 2. A woman of Jezreel*, wife of David* and mother of his eldest son Amnon* (1 S 25:43; 2 S 3:2 +).

Ahio (Hb *'ahyō*, meaning uncertain), son of Abinadab* and brother of Uzzah*, with whom he carried the ark from the house of Abinadab to Jerusalem (2 S 6:3 ff). The name is borne by two other men in the OT.

Ahithophel (Hb *'ahitōpel*, meaning uncertain), a man of Giloh (a city of Judah, site unknown) and member of David's council. Ahithophel joined the rebellion of Absalom* (2 S 15:12, 31). He advised Absalom to take public possession of David's harem, a treasonable act which would create an irreparable breach (2 S 16:20 ff). He suggested that he himself pursue David with a small force immediately after David's flight and kill him before he could gather a force. This sound plan was overruled by Absalom on the advice of Hushai*, who was secretly working for David (2 S 17:1 ff). Ahithophel realized that this meant the failure of the revolt and went home and hanged himself (2 S 17:23).

Ai (Hb always with the article, *ha'ai*, "the ruin"), a city. Abraham camped between Bethel* to the W and Ai to the E (Gn 12:8; 13:3). It was the second Canaanite city to be taken by Joshua (Jos 7:2-8:29). A first attack on the city failed, which was attributed to Achan's* theft of some of the

plunder seized at Jericho*, and dedicated to Yahweh. A second attack, which employed a ruse to draw the defenders from the city, was successful, and the city was utterly destroyed as Jericho had been. The account relates that the city remained uninhabited thereafter. The place was inhabited after the exile (Ezr 2:28; Ne 7:32), and it is possibly to be identified with Ayyah of Ne 11:31. The identification of Ai with et-Tell (which also means "the ruin") about two mi E of Bethel* and ten mi N of Jerusalem is generally accepted. The site contains extensive ruins and large fortifications and occupies an eminence which rises sharply in the hill country of Ephraim. The excavation of the site by Mme. Marquet-Krause in 1933-1934 disclosed occupation between 3000-2400 bc; but the site was entirely unoccupied after 2400 until a small Israelite settlement c 1000 bc. This creates problems concerning the account of the capture of Ai by Joshua. Modern explanations fall into three classes. (1) Some scholars suppose that the account is entirely fictitious and is an etiological story of the ruin. Later Israelites, it is supposed, attributed the destruction of the city to their great conqueror. This hypothesis seems improbable and has few defenders. (2) A second hypothesis supposes that Ai was an outpost of Bethel and had to be taken by the Israelites before Bethel could be attacked. It is difficult to combine this with the explicit mention of the capture and execution of the king of Ai (Jos 8:23, 29; 12:9). (3) A theory proposed by W. F. Albright and accepted by a number of modern scholars seems the most probable explanation. In this view the ruin of Ai attracted to itself the story of the conquest of Bethel. This is supported by the fact that no conquest of Bethel is mentioned in Jos, although the progress of the Israelite movement demanded the reduction of this city. The capture of Bethel is alluded to in Jgs 1:22 ff, but it is not there attributed to Joshua. The men of Bethel are mentioned among the defenders of Ai (Jos 8:17). Jos 7-8 is therefore really an account of the conquest of Bethel. A few scholars have questioned the identification of Ai with et-Tell; but there is no basis for this doubt except the literary evidence, which admits the explanation of Albright. The archaeological evidence indicates that the site was already abandoned at the time when Abraham camped there. It is most unlikely that "the ruin" was the original name of the city, which has been lost.

Aijalon (Hb *'ayyalōn*, meaning uncertain), a town located in the Shephelah*. Its history is complex; it is the scene of Joshua's vic-

tory over the confederated kings, mentioned in the victory song of Jos 10:12. It was held by the Amorites* after the Israelite settlement of Canaan* (Jgs 1:35). It is listed as a town of Dan (Jos 19:42) and as a Levitical town of Dan (Jos 21:24); the territory was abandoned by Dan after the tribe's migration to the N. It is listed as a Levitical town of Ephraim (1 Ch 6:54) and as a Levitical town of Benjamin (1 Ch 8:13), and it is very probably to this tribe that the town belonged during most of its history. A victory of the men of Aijalon over the men of Gath* is related in 1 Ch 8:13. It was involved in the victory of Saul over the Philistines (1 S 14:31) as the W limit of the Israelite pursuit. The town was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11:10) and was taken by the Philistines during the reign of Ahaz* (2 Ch 28:18). Aijalon should be read for Elon* in Solomon's 2nd district (1 K 4:9). The valley of Aijalon, the Wadi es Selman, is one of the most important routes from the coastal plain to the central mountains (cf SHEPHELAH). The site is the modern Yalo in the Wadi es Selman W of Gibeon. Another Aijalon in Zebulun, the site of the burial of the minor judge Elon*, should probably be read Elon (Jgs 12:12).

Akeldama (Gk *akeldamach*, Aramaic *hāqel d'ma'*, "field of blood"), the land purchased by the council with the money for the betrayal of Jesus which Judas returned to them (AA 1:19), formerly called the potter's field (Mt 27:7). Tradition locates the field S of the valley of Hinnom (cf GEHENNA), the modern Wadi er Rababi, and W of the spring En Rogel*, the modern Bir Ayyub.

Akkad (Hb *'akkad*), mentioned only in Gn 10:10 with Babel* and Erech* as part of the kingdom of Nimrod*. The city of Akkad lay on the Euphrates* in northern Babylonia*; the exact site is not certainly known. The name Akkad was also given to the region of Mesopotamia N from Babylon to Assyria; the double name "Sumer and Akkad" designated Mesopotamia S of Assyria to the Persian Gulf. Akkad was the center of a world kingdom during the 3rd millennium BC (2360–2180 BC, Albright; 2350–2150 BC, Moortgat). The two greatest kings of the dynasty were Sargon and Naram-Sin; the empire of Akkad included all of Mesopotamia and at times Syria* and Elam*. The dynasty fell under the invasion of Gutians in the 22nd century BC. The dynasty of Akkad saw great advances in culture and the arts, and was long remembered in saga, despite its brevity; perhaps some

memory of it is reflected in the biblical allusion to Nimrod (Gn 10:8 ff). The dynasty of Akkad represents the successful irruption of Semitic peoples into Mesopotamia. Its ideal of a world kingdom was reflected for centuries in the titles of the kings of Babylon and Assyria, "king of all," "king of the four quarters," "the great king," etc.

Akkadian. The name now given to the language spoken in Mesopotamia generally from about 2000 BC until about 500 BC; classified as eastern Semitic. The language was formerly called Assyrian* because the literary monuments first discovered were in the Assyrian dialect. Akkadian appears in Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium BC. With the domination of Semitic peoples it gradually supplanted Sumerian* and remained the common language until it was supplanted by Aramaic*. It appears in two principal dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian. It was written in the cuneiform* signs of Sumerian, which had no signs for some of the consonants characteristic of the Semitic languages, and has absorbed a number of Sumerian words. The literary remains of Akkadian, which have been discovered and interpreted since 1835, are extensive; they are not only a unique source for the world of the OT, but the language itself has furnished invaluable light for the understanding of Hebrew.

Akrabbim. Cf SCORPION.

Alabaster (Gk *alabastron*, "without handles"), probably refers to the type of vessel rather than to the material. It is mentioned in the entire Bible only in Mt 26:7; Mk 14:3; Lk 7:37, in the story of the woman who broke an alabaster vessel of perfume to anoint the head of Jesus. In Hellenistic and Roman usage the word was applied to any vessel of any material without handles in which perfume was sealed; to use the contents the neck of the vessel was broken, as in the gospel episode. Alabaster now means gypsum; the material used in ancient Egypt, however, was calcite, a compact crystalline form of calcium carbonate, white or yellowish white in color. In ancient times alabaster was quarried only in Egypt and the products which have been found are either Egyptian made or imitations of Egyptian models. The little translucent vessels of alabaster, mostly for cosmetics and perfumes, which are found in Palestine come almost entirely from pre-Israelite levels and were luxury articles. It is very likely that wealthy Israelites of the 8th-7th centuries BC were able to procure these, which makes their

absence in the OT and their rarity in excavated Israelite sites surprising.

Alcimus (Gk *alkimos*, Hellenized form of Hb *Eliakim*). Alcimus was a leader of the hellenizing faction among the Jews in the Maccabean* period. He was confirmed as high priest* by Demetrius* I in 159 bc and installed under the protection of Bacchides*. Shortly after his arrival he murdered sixty Hasideans who had come to discuss peace (1 Mc 7:5 ff). Judas continued the war and defeated Nicanor*, who was sent to destroy him. Alcimus accompanied Bacchides at the battle in which Judas was killed (1 Mc 9:1 ff). While engaged in razing the wall of the inner court of the temple he fell ill of paralysis and died (1 Mc 9:55 ff, 160 bc).

Aleph. The first letter of the Hb alphabet, represented by 'א'; the sound, a glottal stop, is not represented in the English alphabet.

Alexander (Gk *alexandros*, "defending men").

1. Alexander the Great (357–323 bc), son and successor of Philip of Macedon. He acceded to the throne in 336 bc and in the following year, after imposing unity upon Greece, he embarked on the campaigns in which he conquered the Persian* Empire and reached India. He is mentioned in the Bible only in 1 Mc 1:1–9; 6:2. It was his conquests which diffused Greek culture throughout the ancient Near East; this wrought profound changes in Jewish life and thought (cf HELLENISM). Josephus's story that he visited Jerusalem is generally thought to have no historical basis. Alexander may be alluded to in the world empires of Daniel*.

2. Alexander Balas, pretended son of Antiochus* Epiphanes; the claim was accepted by the Jews, but rejected by ancient historians. Alexander took the throne of Syria when Demetrius* I Soter fell in battle in 150 bc. Both Alexander and Demetrius sought the assistance of the Jews under Jonathan* and promised many privileges; but the Jews favored Alexander, both because he appointed Jonathan high priest and because of their resentment toward Demetrius. Ptolemy* VI of Egypt also favored Alexander and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage; but he betrayed Alexander in favor of Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, seized the cities held by the Syrians in Palestine, took Cleopatra from Alexander and gave her to Demetrius. Jonathan remained faithful to Alexander and defeated the forces of Demetrius under the command of Apollonius*. The rest of the Syrian kingdom, however, accepted Demetrius; Alexander, de-

feated, fled to Arabia, where he was beheaded by the Arab chieftain Zabdiel in 145 bc (1 Mc 10:1 — 11:19).

3. Son of Simon of Cyrene* and brother of Rufus* (Mk 15:21).

4. Priest and member of the council before which Peter was summoned to justify his preaching (AA 4:6).

5. A Jew who attempted to speak in defense of the Jews during the riot at Ephesus aroused by the silversmith Demetrius* (AA 19:33).

6. A Christian who abandoned the faith and was excommunicated by Paul (1 Tm 1:20).

7. A smith who wronged Paul in a manner not specified; perhaps identical with 6 (2 Tm 4:14).

Alexandria. A city of Egypt*, mentioned in the NT as the home of Apollos*, Paul's companion (AA 18:24), and as the home port both of the ship in which Paul was wrecked at Malta (AA 27:6) and of the ship in which he traveled from Malta to Rome (AA 28:11). The Jews of the synagogue are mentioned among those with whom Stephen disputed (AA 6:9). The city was founded by Alexander* 332/331 bc, after whom it was named. It lay on a narrow strip of land between the Mediterranean and Lake Mareotis near the Canopic mouth of the Nile*, with which Lake Mareotis was joined by a canal. The harbor was largely artificial; its outstanding work was the mole connecting the city with the Island of Pharos, where stood the lighthouse which was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It was the capital city both of the Ptolemies* and of the Roman administration of Egypt; ancient writers praise its beauty and its extensive parks and colonnaded avenues. With Rome and Antioch it was one of the three principal cities of the Roman world, and possibly had 500,000 inhabitants at its peak. This makes it somewhat surprising that Paul, who knew the other two cities well, seems never to have thought of going to Alexandria. One of the five districts of the city was inhabited by Jews under their own municipal officer called an alabarch; this was possibly the largest concentration of Jews in the ancient world, and one of the richest and most influential. Anti-Jewish riots occurred there more than once, and reached serious proportions in 88 bc. Alexandria became the greatest intellectual center of the Hellenistic world with its libraries and its assembly of renowned scholars. Here Jews actually came to grips with Hellenistic culture and absorbed more of its thought and its way of life than they knew. In Alexandria the OT was translated into Greek (cf SEPTUA-

GINT). Here also Jewish scholars made efforts to identify their own wisdom* and law* with Greek philosophy; the most famous of these scholars was Philo, and it is possible that the intellectual currents stirred up at Alexandria have left traces in the language of the NT, especially in Paul and Heb. Hellenistic ideas are most clearly seen in the Wisdom* of Solomon, composed at Alexandria in the 1st century BC. There are no certain records of the establishment of Christianity at Alexandria; its traditions made Mark* its apostle and founder.

Allegory. A literary composition in which each detail signifies some reality. Sustained allegories are rare in any literature, and there are none in the Bible. The allegory is distinguished from the parable* and the type*, although each of these may contain allegorical elements; the parables of the sower and the tares or cockle (Mt 13:1 ff) are largely allegorical. The allegorical interpretation of the Bible first appears in Jewish interpreters and was widely practiced by many of the Fathers of the Church. In this view the entire OT signifies by allegory the entire Christian revelation; since the presupposition is false, allegorical interpretation is usually fanciful. The word is mentioned once in the NT (Gal 4:24) of the two wives of Abraham, which are interpreted "by allegory" as the two covenants. This type of allegorizing, in which a homiletic application is drawn from details of the text, is commonplace in rabbinical interpretation, of which Paul offers a number of examples; cf INTERPRETATION; PAUL.

Alleluia. A Hb word employed in the Roman Mass and breviary, Hb *hal'elū yāh*, "praise Yah[weh]" (cf HALLELUJAH).

Almond (Hb *šāḳēd*, "the waker"); the name comes from the early blossoming of the tree in late January or early February. The tree grows wild in Palestine and reaches a height of 16 ft; its flowers are white with a tinge of pink. Je 1:11 draws from the sight of an almond twig the word that Yahweh is awake (*šōḳēd*) to execute His threats. The almond is a part of the allegory of Ec 12:5. The almond twig was the means by which the priesthood of Aaron was vindicated (Nm 17:23). The almond nut was and is esteemed as a delicacy in the Near East and was included in the gifts of Jacob to Joseph (Gn 43:11).

Alms. The duty of giving to the poor is not mentioned in the earlier books of the OT. The prophets often speak of the duty of compassion to the poor, but their em-

phasis falls upon justice rather than upon charity. Charity to the poor is praised in Pr 3:27 f; 22:9; 28:27. Almsgiving becomes one of the principal works of charity in the Greek period: Tb 4:6-11; BS 3:30-4:10; 17:22; Dn 4:24. The Talmud often praises almsgiving. Jesus mentions it to correct ostentation in almsgiving (Mt 6:2 ff) and makes the gift of all one's goods to the poor a condition of becoming His follower (Mt 19:21; Mk 10:21; Lk 18:22; cf Mt 5:42; Lk 6:30). Tabitha* (AA 9:36) and Cornelius* (AA 10:2 ff) are praised for their almsgiving, and Paul speaks of fulfilling the duty of almsgiving in Jerusalem (AA 24:17); no doubt pilgrims to Jerusalem, presumably men of means, were expected to give to the poor of the city. The social background of the practice was the rise of a numerous and extremely poor class during the Greek period, although this division between a few wealthy and a poor populace already appears under the monarchy. But the social duty of almsgiving appears just during the period when such class divisions became fixed (cf RIGHTEOUS).

Aloes. An aromatic oil derived from a tree native to India, from which both the product and the name are probably derived. It was a perfume much esteemed in Palestine; employed for the clothing, the bed, and for burial (Pr 7:17; SS 4:14; Jn 19:39).

Alpha. The first letter of the Gk alphabet, mentioned with *omega*, the last letter (Apc 1:8; 21:6; 22:13) to signify the beginning and the end, the totality.

Alphabet. Alphabetic writing is the term of a long development which was reached only once in human history; from this single term all existing alphabets are derived and man has not advanced beyond it. The earliest stage in written communication is "picture writing": for example, picture of man—spear—bear represents "man kill bear." The limitations of such communication are at once apparent; besides, it does not represent speech and can be read in any language. The next stage is the use of the conventionalized picture (sign) to represent a single spoken word (logogram). This also has limitations; abstractions and grammatical modifications (number, mood, tense) cannot be represented. This stage was reached by the Sumerians* probably in the 4th millennium BC. But almost as soon as the method was devised it was modified by the use of the logogram to represent the sound even when it occurs elsewhere than in the word (phonogram); this is "rebus writing," as if "apply" were written by the picture of the fruit and

WEST SEMITIC										GREEK		LATIN	
AHIRAM	RUSSISH	AZARBAAL	JEHIMEK	ABIBAL	ELIBAL	SAPTABAL	MESAR	ZINCIRU	CYRUS	SARDINIA	OLD	LATE	
K	K	K	K, K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	ⲕ, A	A	A
Q	Q	Q	Q, Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	ⲕ, B	B	B
1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1, 1	Γ	C (26 REPLACING 2)
Δ	Δ		Δ		Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	D
E			E				E	E	E	E	E, E	E	E
Y		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y, Y, V	(Y AT END)	F (2 U, V, Y AT END)
I		I	I		I	I	I	I	I		I	Z	(Z AT END)
H	H	H	H, B		H	H	H	H		H	H	H	H
Θ					Θ	Θ	Θ		Θ	Θ, Θ	Θ	Θ	
I	I	I	I		I	I	I	I	I	I	I, I	I	I
K	K	K	K		K	K	K	K	K	K	K, K	K	K
L		L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L, J	L	L
M		M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Ξ		Ξ				Ξ	Ξ			Ξ	Ξ	Ξ	(X AT END)
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
P		P	P		P	P	P	P	P	P	P, P	Π	P
	h		h			h	h		h	h	h, M	(M)	
			φ			φ	φ	φ	φ		φ, φ	(φ)	Q
R		R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R, P	P	R
S	S	S		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S, S, S	S	S
T	T	T		T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
											Y, φ, X, Y, Ω	U, V, X, Y, Z	

Comparative chart of Greek and West Semitic writings. Even the order of the letters of the two writings is the same, as can be seen from the names of the first letters. The Semitic signs *wāw*, *šādē*, and *qōph*, which do not exist in classical Greek, occur in the older periods as *wau* or *digamma*, *san*, and *qoppa*. Furthermore, in later times these three signs continue to be used in the Greek numerical system, in which they have almost the same values as their counterparts have in the Semitic systems.

of the organ of vision. Once the device of using the sign to represent the syllable rather than the word is employed, the signs become much more flexible and can be used to write anything that is spoken. In the Sumerian syllabary, however, and in its use for Akkadian*, the logograms survive with the phonograms. The signs are so conventionalized in the cuneiform* writing that the picture cannot be identified unless the original sign is known. But the system is cumbersome and the entire syllabary of Akkadian includes several hundred signs, although they were not all in use in any one time and place. It was probably early in the 2nd millennium BC and somewhere between Asia Minor and Egypt, although it cannot be dated or located precisely, that the next decisive step was taken of isolating the consonants from the vowels. The linear scripts which remain from this area and period, many of them still undeciphered because of the scarcity of material, indicate that there were a number of efforts to reach the alphabetic prin-

ciple: the proto-Sinaitic script (1500 BC), the scripts from Gezer*, Shechem*, and Lachish* in Canaan* (1800–1500 BC), and the hieroglyphs of Byblos*, roughly the same period or earlier. At Ugarit* the cuneiform signs were adapted to an alphabetic script by 1400 BC, but this was done on the basis of the principle already discovered. The isolation of the consonants reduces the number of signs very sharply—in the Semitic languages, between 20 and 30. The oldest writing in the alphabetic script which finally prevailed is found in the inscription of Ahiram of Byblos, about 1000 BC. This alphabet was adopted by the Greeks hardly before the 9th century; no Greek inscription is earlier than the 8th century. When first adopted by the Greeks the script was written right to left, as in the Semitic alphabet, and the earliest Greek letters exhibit their derivation. The Greeks took the final step toward the true alphabet. The letters Aleph, He, Waw, Heth, Yod, Ayin, had no corresponding phonemes in Greek, and they were used

to represent the vowels isolated from the consonants: Aleph/Alpha — a, He/Epsilon — ē, Waw/Upsilon — u, Heth/Eta — ē, Yod/Iota — i, Ayin/Omicron — ō. The Greeks added a few other signs (possibly derived from the Semitic script) to signify phonemes not represented in the Semitic alphabet; it is the Greek alphabet as taken over by Latin that is the parent of all modern alphabetic scripts except those which come directly from the Semitic alphabet. The Hebrew alphabet as exhibited in ostraca and inscriptions from the 8th century was identical with the Canaanite-Phoenician. The "square" characters in which modern Hebrew is printed and which appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls (earliest from 2nd century BC, cf QUMRAN) were not developed before the 5th or 4th century BC.

Alphaeus (Gk *alpaios* from Aramaic *ḥalfay*, meaning unknown), the father of the apostle James (Mt 10:3; Mk 3:18; Lk 6:15; AA 1:13); the father of Levi (Matthew) (Mk 2:14), almost certainly to be distinguished from the first.

Altar. The altar is primarily the place of sacrifice, and this is signified by its Hb name *mizbēḥ*; hence it is to be found wherever sacrifice is offered, and may be temporary. It usually stood outside rather than inside ancient temples* and was found on the high places* of Canaan*, where there were no temples. Altars are mentioned in the patriarchal stories and even in the story of Noah* (Gn 8:20; 12:8; 13:18; 22:9 etc.); this retrojection is justified, since the altar appears at the beginning of human history. The altars found in Canaanite sites are of stone, either a block table of hewn stones or a single block of stone. The altar described in Ex 20:24 ff is doubtless the oldest form of Israelite altar and more primitive in general; it is to be made of earth heaped up, or of a heap of unhewn stones. Working the stone "profaned" it, i.e., established contact with the "unholy," the creature, and changed it from the state in which it came from God; hence it was unfit for sacred use. This early scruple did not remain. The altar is not to have steps; altars with steps have been discovered at Zorah* and Megiddo*. The altar described in the priestly code (Ex 27:1 ff) is made of acacia wood covered with a bronze grating and left hollow, perhaps to be filled with earth; this is doubtless a description of the altar in the temple of Solomon (1 K 8:64). The altar described in Ezk 43:13 ff is built in three stages, each stage two cubits shorter than the side below it; this recalls the ziggurat of Mesopotamian temples, and this feature

should probably be added to the description in the priestly code. The altar had horns at the corners; these have appeared on altars discovered at Megiddo.

The altar symbolized the deity in the sacrificial ritual, and the victim was presented to the deity by contact with the altar. In earlier times it does not appear that the altar was employed for burning the victim or the portions given to the deity; the offering was made by applying the blood of the victim, which symbolized its life, to the altar (cf SACRIFICE). Nor was the altar strictly a table symbolizing the sacred banquet. The horns also symbolized the deity, but with no distinct symbolism from the altar as a whole that can be detected. The priestly code also describes the golden altar of incense (probably part of Solomon's temple, Ex 30:1 ff; 1 K 6:20). The type of construction is not described, but incense altars have been discovered at Megiddo. In 732 BC, Ahaz* had an altar made after the model of an altar which he saw at Damascus, but details of construction are not given; the bronze altar was removed to the N side of the temple to make room for it and both were used (2 K 16:10 ff). The table of "shewbread*" probably should not be called an altar, since no sacrifice was involved. The NT references to altar all concern either the altar of the temple or the altar of incense or altars in pagan cults; in the NT there was as yet no altar in Christian cult. The single reference to a Christian altar is in Heb 13:10, which most probably refers to the Eucharist*. The altar of Apc 6:9; 8:3, is the altar of the heavenly temple.

Amalekites (Hb *ʿamālēk*, meaning unknown), a nomadic tribe first mentioned in Gn 14:7, listed among the tribes in the genealogy of Esau* (Gn 36:12); not known outside the OT. Amalek dwelt in the Negeb* (Nm 13:29) in the desert between Sinai and Canaan (1 S 15:7). "The city of Amalek" (1 S 15:5) is not otherwise known; the term city may be loosely used for a nomad encampment. Amalek always appears at war with the Israelites. The first encounter was the battle at Rephidim* during the passage from Egypt to Canaan (Ex 17:8 ff). Another encounter at Hormah* may be a variant tradition of the Rephidim battle (Nm 14:45). The Amalekites attacked the Israelites in alliance with Eglon* of Moab* (Jgs 3:13) and with the Midianites* (Jgs 6:3, 33; 7:12). Under the direction of Samuel* Saul* undertook a war of extermination against the Amalekites (1 S 15:1 ff); his failure to carry out the ban* against Agag*, the king of the Amalekites, caused a breach between Samuel and himself. Amalek was one of

the tribes which David raided during his service with Achish* of Gath* (1 S 27:8). In revenge the Amalekites raided David's base at Ziklag* while David was absent at Gath; they burned the city and carried off the women and children, including David's family (1 S 30:1 ff). David overtook them and destroyed all except 400 men. This blow was effective; the Amalekites do not appear again as actively hostile (cf the curse of Balaam*, Nm 24:20, and the "remnant of Amalek" 1 Ch 4:43). The enmity of Israel and Amalek, which the tradition represents as ancient, was conducted according to the primitive ethics of the blood-feud, which demanded the total extermination of the enemy (cf AVENGER). This is even read into the accounts of the early conflicts (Ex 17:14, 16; Dt 25:17, 19), and was at the base of Samuel's demand that Saul execute vengeance (1 S 15:1 ff). Since the feud was the only protection of the life of the individual and the tribe, its execution was a sacred duty.

Amana (Hb *ʾamānāh*, meaning unknown), a peak in the Lebanon* or an alternate name for Lebanon itself (SS 4:8).

Amarina, Tell el- The site of the ruins of Akhetaton, the royal city of the Pharaoh Amenophis IV (Ikhnaton, 1377-1358 BC), halfway between Cairo and Luxor on the right bank of the Nile*. The ruins, discovered in 1887, contained the correspond-

ence from the chancery of Amenophis III (1413-1377 BC) and Amenophis IV, his successor, over 350 letters from foreign rulers. Both the great powers (Babylon*, Assyria*, Mitanni, Hittites*), and the petty kingdoms of Syria* and Canaan* (Byblos*, Sidon*, Tyre*, Ashkelon*, Jerusalem*, Gezer*, Lachish*, Megiddo*, and many others) are represented. The importance of these documents for the history of the period of the exodus* is unique. The letters with a few exceptions are written in Akkadian* in the cuneiform* script; from this we learn the wide cultural influence of Mesopotamia in the west. The language is full of Canaanite dialectal peculiarities, which are a principal source of information for the language of Canaan. It is clear that the Hebrews adopted the language of Canaan with only slight differences. The documents also furnish the political background for the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan. Under the earlier kings of the 18th dynasty in the 16th-15th centuries BC Egypt* had effectively conquered Syria and Canaan. The documents show that under Amenophis IV the control of Egypt was ineffective and the country was disunited and disorderly. The satellite kings of the Canaanite city-states were nominal subjects of Egypt, but many of them, openly or covertly, were in revolt or plotting revolt. The documents reveal these plots and the conflicts between loyal and rebellious vassals. Lack of a strong central authority meant



Amarna, site of the royal city of Ikhnaton.

that Canaan was open to incursions from the nomadic tribes of the desert, whom the petty states could not control. It is evident that in such conditions the Hebrews had little difficulty in establishing themselves in the country; conditions had not improved in the following century, when the settlement is probably to be dated (cf *EXODUS*).

Amasa (Hb *ʾmāsā*, meaning unknown), son of Jether and Abigail, David's* sister, appointed commander of the army by Absalom* after Joab* had fled with David (2 S 17:25). After the defeat of his army Amasa persuaded the men of Judah to restore their allegiance to David (2 S 19:14). Probably in return for his demonstration of loyalty and in punishment of Joab for his disobedience in killing Absalom, David retained Amasa in command of the army and sent him to put down the rebellion of Sheba* ben Bichri (2 S 20:4 ff). Amasa joined the forces under Abishai* at Gibeon, where Joab killed him while they were exchanging greetings (2 S 20:7 ff). This treacherous murder was not merely an act of envy; Joab doubtless thought that Amasa, a kinsman of David like himself, should die for following Absalom. The crime was mentioned among those for which David charged Solomon* to kill Joab (1 K 2:5, 32).

Amaziah (Hb *ʾmašyāh*, *ʾmašyāhū*, "Yahweh is mighty"). 1. Son and successor of Joash* and king of Judah 800–783 bc. He executed the murderers of his father but spared their families. He conducted a successful campaign against Edom and fortified the port of Elath*. He challenged Jehoash* of Israel in an attempt to shake off the overlordship of Israel and was defeated; Jehoash wrecked part of the wall of Jerusalem and plundered the temple. Amaziah himself was assassinated (2 K 14:1 ff). He is judged favorably in Kings; the judgment is repeated in Chronicles, but the Chronicler, to explain his defeat, has added an episode of doubtful historical value in which Amaziah worshiped the gods of Edom (2 Ch 25:1 ff).

2. The priest of the sanctuary of Bethel* who forbade Amos to speak there. Amos threatened him and his family with annihilation (Am 7:10 ff).

Amen (Hb *ʾāmēn*; "truly," "it is true" always expressing acceptance of what has just been said [except Is 65:16, where perhaps another word should be read]). It appears in doxologies in the Pss (41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48). Its use in the NT outside the Gospels is confined to doxologies; this liturgical form was taken over from Judaism. In *Apc* 3:14 Jesus Himself is called "the

Amen," the one who is faithful to His word. Its use by Jesus Himself in the Gospels is frequent and has no real parallel elsewhere. It is used to introduce solemn affirmations and adds a note not only of asseveration but also of authority.

Ammonites (Hb *ʾammōn*, *bʿnē ʾammōn*, "sons of Ammon" [cf "sons of Israel" etc]); an Aramaean* tribe which settled on the upper Jabbok*, probably not much earlier than the 12th century BC. The Aramaic origin of the Ammonites is expressed by the Hebrew* account of their descent from Lot* (Gn 19:38), in which they are also connected with the ancestors of the Hebrews. They are represented as already settled at the time of the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan (Dt 2:19, 37), but this tradition may be anachronistic; in any case, the settlement of the Ammonites must have been closely contemporaneous with that of the Israelites. The Jabbok was the border of the two peoples from early times (Dt 3:16; Jos 12:2). The Ammonites displaced the Rephaim*, the earlier inhabitants, whom they themselves called the Zamzummim* (Dt 2:20). They appear at war with the Israelites in alliance with the Moabites* and Amalekites* (Jgs 3:13), and were defeated by the tribes of Gilead* under Jephthah* (Jgs 10:6 ff). Nahash, king of the Ammonites, besieged Jabesh-gilead*; his contemptuous threats against it were the occasion on which Saul* began to exercise his leadership, and he defeated the Ammonites (1 S 11:1 ff). David enjoyed friendly relations with Nahash, perhaps because both were enemies of Saul. When he sent an embassy to Hanun, son and successor of Nahash, to console him on his father's death, Hanun, suspecting treachery, insulted the ambassadors. In the campaign which followed Ammon and its Aramaean allies were defeated and the royal city, Rabbah*, was taken; David himself put on the crown of Ammon, but seems to have left a satellite king (2 S 10:1 ff). It was during this campaign that the episode of Bathsheba* and Uriah* occurred (2 S 11:1 ff). The Ammonites paid tribute to Azariah* (2 Ch 26:8) and Jotham* (2 Ch 27:5) and were probably tributary to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah until the Assyrian conquest. They raided Judah during the revolt of Jehoiakim against Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 24:2). After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 bc Baalis*, king of Ammon, sent Ishmael* to murder Gedaliah*, appointed governor of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, and furnished him asylum after the murder. The Ammonites were among those who opposed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah* (Ne 4:1). Judas

the Maccabee conducted a campaign against the Ammonites (1 Mc 5:6 ff). Oracles against Ammon are found in Je 9:25; 49:1-6; Ezk 21:33-37; 25:1-7; Am 1:13-15; Zp 2:8-11. The Assyrian records of Shalmaneser* III mention Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite, among the allies at the battle of Karkar in 853 bc. Several Ammonite kings are listed as tributary by the Assyrians: Sanibu of Beth-Ammon by Tiglath-pileser* III (745-727 bc), Pudu-ilu of Beth-Ammon by Sennacherib* (705-681 bc) and Esarhaddon* (681-669 bc), Ammi-nadbi of Beth-Ammon by Ashur-bani-pal (668-626 bc). The name of Ammon is preserved in the modern city of Amman, capital of the kingdom of Jordan, on the site of the ancient Rabbah.

Amnon (Hb 'amnōn, "faithful"? perhaps abbreviated), eldest son of David* and Ahinoam* (2 S 3:2). Amnon fell in love with his half-sister Tamar*, daughter of David and Maacah* and sister of Absalom. On the advice of Jonadab* his friend he feigned illness and asked Tamar to attend him, and raped her when she came to his room. Absalom waited two years for revenge; then he invited all the king's sons to celebrate the sheepshearing and ordered his retainers to murder Amnon at the banquet (2 S 13:1 ff).

Amon (Hb 'āmōn, "faithful"? perhaps an abbreviation). 1. Son and successor of Manasseh* and king of Judah (642-640 bc). He maintained the religious perversions of his father and was assassinated, perhaps by a conservative group; but the conspirators themselves were killed by the "people of the land" and his son Josiah*, then an infant, was installed as king (2 K 21:18 ff). The name is borne by two others in the OT.

2. An Egyptian god, mentioned only in Je 46:25. The name may mean "the hidden one." Amon first appears in Thebes* in the 11th dynasty; in the opinion of some scholars he is not native to Thebes, although he became the local god of the city. His original character is obscure; some resemblance to Min can be seen in his crown and in occasional ithyphallic images, which suggest that he was a god of fertility. With the rise of the 18th dynasty and the Egyptian empire (cf EGYPT) Amon became the chief god of the Egyptian pantheon. He was identified with Re the sun god and invoked under the title Amon-Re, taking on solar attributes. Amon, his consort Mut, and their son Khonsu formed one of the divine triads of Egyptian religion. With the 19th dynasty Amon yielded ground to other gods, but never lost his preeminence. The remains of his magnificent temple at Karnak may still be seen.

Amorites (Hb 'emōrī, etymology uncertain), one of the pre-Israelite tribes in Canaan*. In the Table* of Nations (Gn 10:16) the Amorites are classed with the other Canaanite tribes as sons of Canaan and descendants of Ham; this classification is geographical, not ethnological. They appear near the Dead Sea at Hazazontamar* (Gn 14:7); and Mamre*, an ally of Abraham*, is an Amorite (Gn 14:13). Shechem* is called an Amorite city in Gn 48:22. They have a kingdom in eastern Palestine under Sihon* which was conquered by the Israelites (Nm 21:21 ff). In western Palestine, according to Israelite tradition, they dwelt in the mountains while the Canaanites* dwelt on the seashore and in the Jordan valley (Nm 13:29), but the picture given by tradition is not consistent. The kings of western Palestine who governed in Joshua's time were Amorites (Jos 5:1), in particular the five kings who were defeated at Gibeon (Jos 10:5 ff). The Amorites kept the tribe of Dan* from the seashore and retained their cities in the Shephelah* (Jgs 1:34-35). In these traditions the Amorites are well distributed over the entire area of Canaan. The relationship of the Amorites to the Canaanites is, consequently, somewhat obscure.

Amurru appears in Mesopotamian records both as a geographic name and as a gentilic. Geographically the name signifies the territory NW of Babylonia; and this is the region from which the Amorites invaded Babylonia. Amurru is first mentioned by Sargon of Akkad* in the 3rd millennium BC, and one of his successors, Sarkalisarri, reports a victory over Amurru. Beginning with the 21st century BC there is evidence of a large Amorite invasion of Babylonia. Mari* on the Euphrates became a capital city and the Amorites established under Sumuabum (about 1830 bc) the first dynasty of Babylon, which under Hammurabi* became an empire (c 1728-1686 bc). Besides, there were numerous unsettled nomadic groups of Amorite and Aramaean nomads moving through Mesopotamia and Syria. The archaeology of Palestine shows a progressive depopulation from the 22nd to the 20th century BC, after which reoccupation begins. This fits so well the Amorite invasion of Mesopotamia that there can hardly be no connection; and it is from this period that we should date the Amorite settlements in Palestine mentioned above. The Amorite states in Mesopotamia were swallowed up in a barbarian invasion after 1780 bc, but the Palestinian settlements escaped this invasion. It is in this period of invasion and migration that Abraham* falls. Haran* and Nahor*, cities associated with Abraham, were both Amorite in the period when Abraham is

best dated. Hebrew connection with the Amorites is also seen in a number of Amorite type personal names which are found in Hebrew. Hebrew ancestry, which is mixed in any case, must derive in part from the Amorites; but this is reflected in the OT only in Ezk 16:3, 45, where it is said to Jerusalem, "Your father was an Amorite." In the Amarna* letters Amurru means Syria N of the modern Beirut; but some cities N of this line are sometimes said to lie in Canaan.

Amos (Hb *'āmōs*, meaning unknown). 1. A prophet whose discourses are preserved in the book of Amos. These were delivered in Israel* during the reign of Jeroboam* II (786-746 BC), probably between 760-750 BC. This was a period of peace and prosperity, reflected in the book. Nothing is known of his personal life except from the book. He is called a shepherd of Tekoa* in Judah (1:1), a shepherd and a dresser (?) of figs (7:14). He was not a professional prophet (7:14) but spoke in obedience to a divine vocation. Some, perhaps all, of his discourses were delivered at the shrine of Bethel*, from which he was expelled by the priest Amaziah* (7:10 ff).

2. The Book of Amos stands third among the 12 prophets in Hb and Lt Bibles, second in Gk. The book is the oldest of the prophetic books. It begins with a title (1:1) and an exordium cited from Je 25:30 and Jl 4:16. There are three major divisions: (1) Judgment against the nations (1:3-2:16); (2) The Discourses (3:1-6:13); (3) The Visions (7:1-9:8a). The conclusion (9:8b-15) is added.

I. Judgment against the nations: Amos utters oracles against Damascus* (1:3-5), Gaza* (1:6-7), Tyre* (1:9-10), Edom* (1:11-12), Ammon* (1:13-15), Moab* (2:1-3), and Judah* (2:4-5). These are all composed in similar style and structure and serve as an introduction to the judgment against Israel (2:6-16); if these nations are to be punished for their crimes, then Israel must also expect judgment, since its crimes are more serious and its responsibility is greater.

II. The Discourses. The introductory formula "Hear this word" occurs in 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; but it does not indicate three discourses so much as three collections of fragments or short utterances. We may distinguish: the election of Israel (3:1-2), the inevitability of disaster (3:3-6), the prophetic vocation (3:7-8), the sins of Samaria (3:9-11), the remnant of Israel (3:12), the fall of Bethel* and the palaces (3:13-15), the sacrifice (4:4-5), punishment — drought women of Samaria (4:1-2), the vanity of

blight, pestilence, earthquake — and obstinacy in malice, followed by final judgment (4:6-12), doxology (4:13), dirge for Israel (5:1-2), gloss (5:3), invitation to seek Yahweh (5:4-7), doxology (5:8-9), injustice (5:10-13), repeated invitation (5:14-15), a cry of woe (5:16), the day of Yahweh (5:18-20), repudiation of superstitious worship (5:21-27), fall of Samaria (6:1-8), death by pestilence (6:9-10), destruction in war (6:11-14).

III. The Visions: the locusts (7:1-3), the fire (drought?) (7:4-6), the plumb-line of destruction (7:7-9). The visions are interrupted by the episode which relates the expulsion of Amos from Bethel by Amaziah (7:10-17). The visions are continued with the basket (a pun on *kayış*, "basket," *kēs*, "end"), expanded by a discourse against avarice and injustice (8:4-8) and a threat of destruction and privation of the prophetic word (8:9-14). The last vision is that of Yahweh standing upon the altar, followed by a threat of total destruction from which no one can flee (9:1-4) and a doxology (9:5-6). A final statement leaves Israel to be treated like any other nation (9:7-8a). The conclusion predicts a restoration of Israel from exile and the rebuilding of the fallen hut of David, to be followed by the marvelous prosperity of the messianic age.

The doxologies (4:13; 5:8; 9:5-6) are probably liturgical additions not written by Amos. His authorship of the conclusion (9:8b-15) is also questioned by many critics. These lines seem to presuppose the exile of Israel and the fall of the dynasty of David as something which has already happened. These messianic commonplaces may have been added by a compiler to soften the severe impact of 9:8a, with which the original book closed. The originality of the oracle against Judah is also questioned, since it lacks the vigorous concrete character of the rest of the words of Amos. It may have been added by a compiler who felt that Judah should not be spared from threats delivered to the other peoples of Palestine and Syria.

If the conclusion is detached from the work of Amos, it must be admitted that the tone of his book is almost entirely threatening, and that the hope of a messianic* future did not fall within his prophetic vision — or, at least, was not included in his prophetic message. In his historical situation there is no need to explain this omission; he was a prophet of judgment and the message of forgiveness and hope was left for others — his younger contemporary Hosea* was one of these. The dominant note in Amos is his conviction of the moral will of Yahweh imposing itself upon man through the operations of nature and the course of

history. God, who is supremely good, cannot permit Himself to be overcome by evil. From this arises the insight, distinctive in Amos but adopted by later prophets, that Israel, the chosen people, cannot be excluded from the moral will of God. In this message, which is only a part of the prophetic doctrine, there is little room for emphasis upon the saving attributes of Yahweh. The place which he gives to the moral will of Yahweh in religion leads him to treat the Israelite cult not only as less important but as without value. This attitude must be understood in the light of the fact that the Israelites attached a superstitious value to the cult as a mechanical and certain means of maintaining good relations with Yahweh. The relationship between God and His people was a union of will, not of nature, which could be ruptured by malice on the side of Israel.

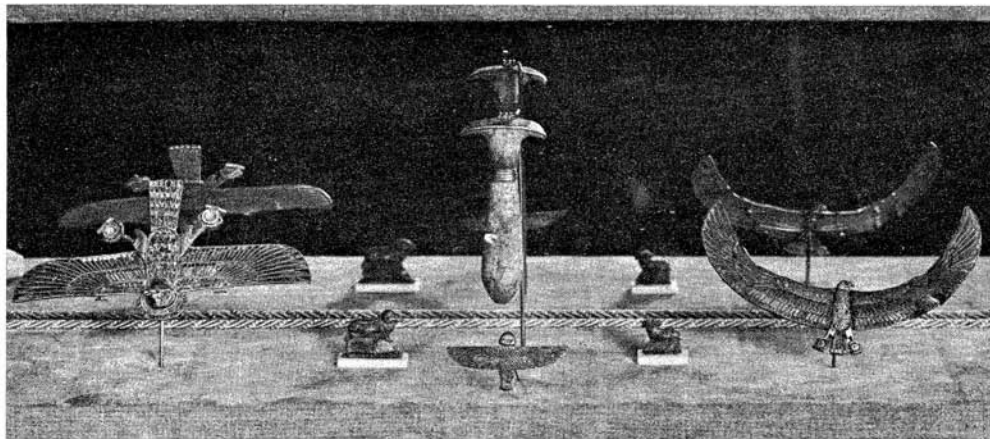
Amphipolis (Gk *amphipolis*, "double city," so called because two arms of the river Strymon flowed around it.) The city lay near the sea in NE Macedonia on the Gulf of Strimon, E of Thessalonica*. It was a free city, a Roman military post on the Via Egnatia, the principal route from Italy to Asia. Paul passed through Amphipolis traveling from Philippi to Thessalonica (AA 17:1).

Ampliatius (Lt *ampliatius*, found several times in Latin inscriptions as the name of a slave), a Christian at Rome greeted by Paul as "beloved in the Lord" (Rm 16:8).

Amram (Hb 'amrām, "the kinsman [i.e., god] is exalted?"), son of Kohath* and father of Moses* and Aaron* (Ex 6:18, 20), mentioned only in genealogies*.

Amraphel (Hb 'amrāpel, meaning and etymology unknown), one of the four kings who invaded Canaan and were defeated by Abraham* (Gn 14:1, 9). Amraphel was king of Shinar*, elsewhere a name of Babylonia*. The identification of this king with Hammurabi* of Babylon* has been given up, and no king is known in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC with whom Amraphel can be identified. The maneuver described in Gn 14 was classic; it was a raid, probably on a small scale, conducted by the Mesopotamian overlords to impress their unruly vassals. It is doubtful that the king or kings would be personally active in such a raid. It may be suspected that the names of the kings involved were not correctly preserved in oral tradition, and that Amraphel of Shinar is actually a garbled form of Hammurabi; cf separate articles on other kings.

Amulet. A small religious symbol worn on the person as a protection against evil spirits. There is no Hb word which directly signifies amulet and there is no polemic in the OT against them. Most of the amulets found in Palestine are of Egyptian origin and belong to pre-Israelite levels of occupation; but a few have been discovered which are of Israelite manufacture. Most of them are found in graves. The most popular Egyptian type was the scarab; an oval stone shaped like a beetle (Gk *skarabaios*), originally a seal. The flat undersurface was engraved with divine images or scenes from mythology. In addition there were small divine images of gods or of divine emblems (such as the eye of Horus or the *ded* pillar). The amulet was usually attached to the person by a cord.



Collection of Egyptian jewelry including amulets.

Anakim (Hb ^anākīm, b^{nē} ^anāk, "sons of Anak"), one of the pre-Israelite tribes of Canaan*. They were located in the vicinity of Hebron* (Nm 13:22); the names of the three chieftains (ibid) Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai are Aramaic. Some forms of Hb tradition described them as giants (Nm 13:28, 33; Dt 2:10, 21; 9:2). Joshua* is credited with conquering them in Hebron*, Debir*, and Anab; the survivors settled in Philistine* territory: Gaza*, Gath*, Ashdod* (Jos 11:21–22). Another tradition credits Caleb* with the conquest of Hebron and the three chieftains (Jos 15:13–14). Israelite heroes in the Philistine wars slew Anakim, all men of gigantic size (2 S 21:16–22). The name is possibly identical with *ly-anak*, mentioned in the Egyptian execration texts of the 12th–13th dynasties (1900–1700 BC; ANET 328).

Anammelech (Hb ^anammelek) with Adrammelech* one of the gods worshiped by the colonists from Sepharvaim* settled in Samaria* by Sargon*. Possibly the name represents Akkadian* *Anu-milki*, "Anu is my king" (W. F. Albright). Anu, the god of the sky, was the senior member of the Mesopotamian pantheon, the king of the gods; in historical times he had generally yielded his primacy to others (Bel of Nippur, Ashur of Assyria, Marduk of Babylon). This was explained as a voluntary transfer of his "Anu-ship" (Akkad *anutu*) to the younger god.

Ananias (*anania*s, Gk form of Hb *Hananiah**). 1. A Jewish Christian of Jerusalem. When the Christians pooled their goods Ananias and his wife Sapphira* withheld some of their own. When charged by Peter* with falsehood, Ananias suddenly died, and the same fate came to his wife a few hours later under the same conditions (AA 5:1 ff). It seems that the traditions of the Jerusalem community invested the deaths of these two with an element of wonder and a reference to their mendacity.

2. A Jewish Christian of Damascus to whom Paul* was directed during the illness which followed his experience on the road to Damascus. Ananias' prayer and imposition of hands restored sight to Paul (AA 9:10 ff; 22:12).

3. The high priest at the time of Paul's arrest in Jerusalem. At the first hearing before the council Ananias ordered Paul to be struck on the mouth, for which Paul cursed him (AA 23:1 ff). Ananias was a member of the party which attended the hearing in Caesarea before the governor Felix* (AA 24:1).

Anath. A goddess of Canaan, consort of

Aleyan Baal*. W. F. Albright explains the name as meaning "indication of purpose, active will" i.e., the personified will of Baal. Anath was one of a type of goddess which was diffused throughout the ancient Near East. She was a deification of the female principle; her primary function was sex, and she combined the two most desirable features of her sex, virginity and maternity. Anath is commonly represented as nude with emphasis upon her sexual characteristics. In the mythology of Ugarit* her function is to raise her consort Aleyan Baal from the dead and to fight his adversary Mot; after his resurrection, the cycle of fertility is renewed by the union of Baal and Anath. She is also a goddess of war, represented in one myth as wading in blood up to her neck; she is sometimes represented in a military posture. The worship of Anath spread into Egypt under the title Qudshu, "the holy one," where she is represented with some features of Egyptian goddesses. The only visible trace of Anath in the OT is the name of Anath, father of the judge Shamgar* (Jgs 3:31; 5:6, possibly abbreviated) and in the place named Beth-anath, a Canaanite city (Jos 19:38), possibly also Anathoth*.

Anathoth (Hb ^anātôt, connected with the name of the goddess Anath*), Levitical town of Benjamin (Jos 21:18; 1 Ch 6:45). Is 10:30 places it near Jerusalem to the N. It was the home of Abiathar*, the priest deposed by Solomon* (1 K 2:26) and of the priestly family of which Jeremiah* was a member (Je 1:1; 29:27). The property which Jeremiah had to buy from his cousin Hanamel* lay at Anathoth (Je 32:7–9). The men of Anathoth were hostile to their own prophet (Je 11:21–23). The town was also the home of two of David's heroes, Abiezer (1 Ch 11:28; 27:12) and Jehu (1 Ch 12:3). The party which returned from exile in Babylon included 128 men of Anathoth (Ezr 2:23; Ne 7:27). The town was resettled after the exile (Ne 11:32). Anathoth appears as a clan name (1 Ch 7:8) and as a personal name (Ne 10:20); the text can hardly be correct in these two instances. The site is the modern Anata, which lies about 5 or 6 mi N of Jerusalem.

Andrew (Gk *andreas*, "manly") brother of Simon Peter* and one of the 12 apostles*. Andrew came from Bethsaida* in Galilee* (Jn 1:44) and was a disciple of John* the Baptist before his call (Jn 1:40 ff). There are two traditions about his call: in Mk 1:16 ff he was called with Peter while they were fishing in the Sea of Galilee; in Jn 1:40 ff he was called with John while they were in the company of John the Baptist,

who pointed out Jesus as the lamb of God. Outside of the lists of the apostles Andrew appears only in Jn 6:8, where he calls attention to the boy who had the loaves and fish which were distributed, and in Jn 12:22, where he acts as mediator between Jesus and the Greeks who asked Philip* for an interview with Jesus. According to some traditions preserved by Eusebius and the *Acts of Andrew* (cf APOCRYPHA) Andrew preached in Bithynia*, Scythia*, Macedonia*, and Achaia*, where he was crucified at Patras; the historical validity of these traditions is not confirmed.

Andronicus (Gk *andronikos*, "victorious over men"). 1. Appointed viceroy at Antioch* by Antiochus* IV Epiphanes, bribed by Mene-laus*, Andronicus had the high priest Onias* arrested and murdered. He was punished by public disgrace and execution (2 Mc 4:30 ff). 2. A Christian at Rome, greeted with Junias by Paul as fellow-Jews, companions in prison, distinguished apostles* who were Christians before him (Rm 16:7).

Angel (From Lt *angelus*, a transcription of Gk *angelos*, used in LXX to translate Hb *mal'ak*, "messenger"), in modern Christian belief, a heavenly spirit.

1. OT. I. The Angel of Yahweh. The most primitive form of OT belief in angels seems to be the "messenger of Yahweh." The messenger appears to Hagar* in the desert (Gn 16:7 ff; 21:17 ff), he prevents Abraham* from sacrificing Isaac* (Gn 22:11 ff), and protects Abraham's slave on his journey to secure a wife for Isaac (Gn 24:7, 40). He speaks to Jacob in a dream (Gn 31:11), protects him from all harm (Gn 48:16) and wrestles with him at Peniel* (Gn 32:24 ff). He appears to Moses* at the burning bush (Ex 3:2), and leads Israel through the Red Sea* and the desert (Ex 14:19; 23:20; 33:2; Nm 20:16). He halts Balaam* on his way to Balak* (Nm 22:22 ff). He is probably the man who appeared to Joshua* near Jericho* (Jos 5:13 ff), "the captain of Yahweh's host." He speaks to the Israelites at Bochim (Jgs 2:1 ff). He calls upon them to curse Meroz (Jgs 5:23). He appears to Gideon* (Jgs 6:11 ff) and to the mother of Samson* (Jgs 13:3 ff). He appears as the destroying angel of pestilence to David at the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S 24:16 ff; 1 Ch 21:15 ff). He appears to a prophet of Bethel* (1 K 13:18), and to Elijah* on his journey to Horeb* (1 K 19:7) and before his meeting with the messengers of Ahaziah* (2 K 1:15). He slew the Assyrians before Jerusalem (2 K 19:35; 2 Ch 32:21; Is 37:36). He does not appear elsewhere in Samuel and Kings, but is used in conver-

sation as an example of fidelity (1 S 29:9), wisdom (2 S 14:20), power (2 S 19:28). Messengers occur in the plural only in Gn 19:1 ff (the two who rescued Lot* from Sodom*), in Gn 28:12 (ascending and descending the ladder seen by Jacob in a dream), and in Gn 32:2 (who met Jacob at Mahanaim*).

From these passages it is clear that the messenger of Yahweh (in some passages "lōhīm, cf god) belongs to the earliest parts of Hebrew tradition. That the messenger occurs less and less frequently as the story advances is explained by the fact that the earlier traditions are folklore which often heighten the wonderful and appeal to the divine to explain phenomena (cf HISTORY). It is also clear that the messenger of Yahweh is not clearly distinguished from Yahweh Himself; cf Gn 16:13; 21:18; 31:13; Ex 3:2 ff; Jgs 6:14; 13:22. Thus it appears that the messenger is an emissary sent by Yahweh to speak in His name or to work wonders in His name, either of which Yahweh accomplishes elsewhere without any intermediary. In some of the passages cited it may be suspected that the messenger of Yahweh is a theological addition to the narrative, intended to preserve the divine transcendence from too intimate a contact with creatures; other forms of the tradition do not show this scruple. We may conclude that the idea of the messenger in early belief wavers between a hypostatization of the divine attributes or operations and a distinct personal heavenly being. Even in Is 63:9 it was neither a messenger nor an angel, but His presence that delivered Israel. This being is not a god. Neither is he a spiritual being; the Hebrews did not have an idea of spiritual reality and distinguished heavenly beings from men only in that they were different. The messenger is not described, but there is nothing to suggest that he was conceived in any form other than human.

II. The Heavenly Court. Yahweh is accompanied by a heavenly retinue. This idea appears in the earlier books only in Jos 5:14 (the captain of the host of Yahweh) and in 1 K 22:19 (Micaiah* sees Yahweh surrounded by the host of heaven). This retinue is called "the holy ones" (Ps 89:6; Jb 5:1; Dn 8:13), and "sons of 'lōhīm" or "sons of 'ēlīm," cf god (Pss 29:1; 89:7; Jb 1:6; 2:1; 38:7). This retinue is less frequently called messengers; but the messengers have a charge to guard man (Ps 91:11), as the messenger of Yahweh led Israel through the desert. They are called to praise Yahweh (Pss 103:20; 148:2) as the choirs of Israel praise Him in the temple. The idea of a heavenly retinue is derived easily from the conception of Yahweh as king and lord,

and it is not necessary to appeal to the religions of Mesopotamia or Persia to explain its growth in Israel, although some of the imaginative features of their representation may come from these sources.

The messenger of Yahweh continues to appear in the later books. He encamps around those who fear Yahweh like the messenger of the exodus (Ps 34:8) and pursues the wicked (Ps 35:5-6). Raphael*, one of the seven holy angels who offer up the prayers of God's people, assists Tobit and his son in their needs (Tb 12:15). But he appears principally as a mediator between Yahweh and the prophets. The visions in Zc 1:7-6:15 are each explained by the angel who accompanies the prophet. The same conception is seen in Dn 8:16 ff; 9:21 ff; here the angel receives a name, Gabriel*. In Dn 10:13, 21 appears the "prince" Michael*, the angel of the people of Israel, who strives with the "princes" of Greece and Persia on behalf of Israel. The same function of interpretation is fulfilled by the "man" of Ezk 40:3 ff, and Elihu* (Jb 33:23) asserts that God will send an "angel interpreter" to intercede for the man who is chastised by suffering. There is an evident contrast between this representation and the "word of Yahweh" which comes immediately to the prophets in the older prophetic books; the revelation of Yahweh as well as His operations are conducted through a heavenly being in order that the divine transcendence may more clearly appear. On related conceptions of the heavenly retinue cf CHERUBIM; HOST OF HEAVEN; SERAPHIM.

2. NT. Gospels. I. The prominence of angels in the infancy* Gospels is evident. They warn Joseph of the coming birth of the child (Mt 1:20) and of the flight to Egypt (Mt 2:13) and the return (Mt 2:19). Here the angel does not differ from the "messenger of Yahweh" in the OT. Gabriel* is the angel of the annunciation; he speaks to Zechariah* of the birth of John* the Baptist (Lk 1:11 ff) and to Mary* of the birth of Jesus (Lk 1:26 ff). Both the name and the function of Gabriel are derived from Daniel (cf above). The angel of the Lord announces the birth of Jesus to the shepherds and is accompanied by a throng of the host of heaven (cf above) singing a hymn of praise (Lk 2:9 ff); here again we are in OT conceptions. Angels minister to Jesus after His temptation (Mt 4:11; Mk 1:13), and an angel strengthens Him during His agony (Lk 22:43); this line, however, is missing in several of the most important MSS. They are present at the resurrection* of Jesus, although they were seen, it seems, by only a few (Mt 28:2; Lk 24:23; Jn 20:12); here again they are "messengers." They appear as

the heavenly court, attending the Lord (Lk 12:8 f; 15:10), to whom God may be expected to manifest His designs (Mt 24:36). They are probably to be understood as guardians of little ones in Mt 18:10, and Jesus could summon them to rescue Him from His captors (Mt 26:43). They carry Lazarus* to Abraham's bosom (Lk 16:22). The angel of the pool of Bethesda* is not found in almost all of the principal MSS and is not a part of the original Gospel (Jn 5:4). The angels are ministers of God's judgment in the Parousia*; they gather the sinners for judgment (Mt 13:41, 49), they accompany the Son of Man* at His coming (Mt 16:27; Mk 8:38; Lk 9:26), they gather the elect (Mt 24:31; Mk 13:27).

This summary shows that the conception of the angels in the Gospels does not advance beyond the OT conception, and in some ways is less imaginative. The angel is still primarily a messenger or a member of the heavenly retinue, and there is not always a sharp distinction between the angel as a personal being and as a personification of the divine word or the divine action.

II. The Apostolic Writings. The "messenger of Yahweh" continues to appear in the other books of the NT. An angel releases Peter and John from prison (AA 5:19) and Peter alone (AA 12:7 ff). He tells Cornelius* to look for Peter (AA 10:3 ff) and tells Philip* to take the road to Gaza* where he will meet the eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia (AA 8:26). An angel appears to Paul in a dream during his voyage to Rome and assures him that all on the ship will be saved (AA 27:23). An angel strikes Herod* Agrippa with a fatal disease (AA 12:23). Angels are less prominent in the Epistles. They witness the sufferings of Christians (1 Co 4:9) and are present invisibly at the liturgical services (1 Co 11:10). Reverence for them demands that women cover their hair, which is their glory, so that the glory of God may appear. Satan also has angels (2 Co 12:7) and can mask himself as an angel of light (2 Co 11:14). Should an angel preach another gospel he should not be believed (Gal 1:8). The Law was delivered through the ministry of angels, in contrast to the New Law which was manifested by Christ (Gal 3:19). Worship of angels, probably due to Jewish influence, is repudiated (Col 2:18). The angels are still conceived as the heavenly court (1 Tm 5:21) and will appear at the Parousia (2 Th 1:7). Christ is greater than the angels, God's messengers in the OT (Hb 1:4 ff), who delivered the "word" i.e., the Law (Heb 2:2). The concept of angels who revolted and fell appears in the NT only in 2 Pt 2:4; Jd 6; elsewhere the existence of malicious spirits.

is taken for granted but not explained; cf DEMON. Jd 6 is interpreted by Dubarle of the "messengers" (Gk *angeloi*) of Nm 13. The allusions in 2 Pt and Jd reflect the form which this belief took in Jewish apocalyptic literature*. Angels are very prominent in Apc, but no difference appears in their representation. They are the messengers of God, the ministers of His judgments, and His heavenly court. The "angels" of the seven churches (Apc 2:1 ff) are probably the bishops of these churches. The word archangel occurs in the entire Bible only in 1 Th 4:16; Jd 9 (Michael). The "virtues, powers, thrones, dominations, principalities" of Eph 1:21; Col 1:16, associated since Gregory the Great with the "nine choirs," have no reference to angels; they signify human or demonic power.

The belief in heavenly beings thus runs through the entire Bible and exhibits consistency. That their nature is spiritual is never clearly asserted; but the idea of spiritual reality was not possessed in its clarity. In some instances — e.g., Apc — the influence of apocalyptic literature can be traced and mythological allusions appear in their description; but the biblical conception of these heavenly beings is in general remarkably restrained compared to Jewish literature. In the NT as in the OT the angel is sometimes no more than another word for a divine communication or a divine operation personified.

Anger. The emotion of anger is often attributed to God in both OT and NT. In the OT the anger of God is mentioned more frequently than human anger. The attribution of anger to God is an anthropopathism which to many seems difficult; it is, however, an essential part of the biblical conception of God as endowed with a vigorous personality. He is a "living God," active, with a moral will to whose execution He is not indifferent; furthermore, His anger is only one feature of His personality as described in the Bible and must be understood in the context of its motivation and of other personal traits which are attributed to Him.

1. OT. The most frequently mentioned object of the anger of Yahweh is the people of Israel. In the Pentateuch* the stories of the exodus and wandering are a series of crises in which Israel excites the anger of Yahweh because of its unbelief, lack of confidence in Him, and rebellion against the leadership of Moses (Ex 32; Nm 11:1; 12:9; 13:25–14:35; 18:5; 32:10–14; Dt 1:34; 9:8, 19). The other historical books contain the same theme (Jgs 2:14; 3:8; 10:7). Under the monarchy Israel provokes Yahweh to anger by its worship of false gods (1 K 14:15; 2 K 22:17), an anger

which ultimately issued in the destruction of the northern kingdom (2 K 17:17). The worship of false gods is conceived as a personal rejection of Yahweh, a personal insult to which there is a personal response: anger.

The prophets also emphasize the theme of the anger of Yahweh. The motive of His anger most frequently mentioned is the worship of false gods (Je 4:4, 8, 26; 7:20; 17:4; 32:31; 36:7; Ezk 6:12; 8:18; 14:19; 16:38; 20:8; Ho 5:10; 8:5; 13:11); Yahweh's anger is also provoked by human pride (Is 9:11), by practical unbelief (Is 9:16), by inhumanity (Is 9:18, 20), by failure to observe His laws (Ezk 5:13) and by all crimes (Ezk 7:3, 8).

The anger of Yahweh is also provoked by foreign nations, not so much for their worship of their own gods, for presumably they could not know better, but for their pride and arrogance (Is 13:5 ff; 30:27; 59:18; 63:3, 6). These appear particularly when they attack Israel, the people of Yahweh, for this is an implicit denial of belief that Yahweh can defend His people (Is 10:5–15; Ezk 25:15–17). Yahweh punishes men and nations for particularly obnoxious crimes and widely diffused vices; His anger is the motive of such disasters as the deluge*, the destruction of Sodom* and Gomorrah, the confusion of languages at the tower of Babel*.

In these and similar passages the anger of God is ethically motivated, an outpouring of His moral will and His justice. In other passages His anger appears unmotivated, and some writers speak of an "irrational" element in His anger. The term is admissible as long as we use it within the context of Hb thought; for while the Hebrews conceived Yahweh in human terms, they were aware that He is not human but divine, that His ways are not the ways of man, and that His actions sometimes cannot be explained in human conceptions. His anger may break out for causes imperceptible to man. Here His anger is an outpouring of His holiness* rather than of His justice. Furthermore, the Israelites shared the common ancient conception that misfortune and disaster of any kind which came without human responsibility was an effect of the divine anger; this anger was usually ethically motivated and could be presumed to be so motivated even when men did not see the cause. Yahweh attacked Jacob at Peniel (Gn 32:23 ff) and Moses on his way from Sinai to Egypt (Ex 4:24 ff). Approaching too closely to the divinity, in particular the sight of His face, would result in death (Ex 19:9–25; 20:18–21; 33:20; Nm 1:52; Jgs 13:22; Is 6:5). A lack of reverence for the holy likewise aroused Yahweh's lethal anger (1 S 6:19; 2 S 6:7). The pride which moved David

to make a census and thus incur anger (2 S 24:1 ff) is an excellent example of the unsophisticated thinking of Israelite tradition. The plague was an evident sign of Yahweh's anger. The census was a sign of pride which provoked anger. But Yahweh was not angry with David alone, or He would not have stricken all Israel; hence His anger against Israel was antecedent to any anger against David. The Chronicler (1 Ch 21:1) found this simple thinking too difficult and changed the exciting cause of the census from Yahweh to Satan*. The Psalmist can ask why he experiences Yahweh's anger (Ps 88:15-17), and the apparently unmotivated anger of God is at the base of the discussions of Job* and his friends.

The anger of Yahweh could fall upon individuals and families as well as on Israel. Israel was punished because Yahweh was angry with Achan (Jos 7:1 ff). Moses incurred the anger of Yahweh for hesitation (Ex 4:14; Dt 1:37), and Aaron incurred it for his part in the episode of the golden calf (Dt 9:20) and with Miriam* for questioning the authority of Moses (Nm 12:9). Ahab* and Manasseh* provoked the anger of Yahweh by their patronage of foreign cults (1 K 16:33; 2 K 23:26).

The anger of Yahweh manifests itself as a blazing consuming fire* (Is 65:5; 30:27; Je 17:4; Ezk 21:36) or as a raging storm (Ps 83:16; Is 30:30; Je 30:23; cf THEOPHANY). It is sometimes conceived as a liquid which can be poured out (Ps 69:25; Je 6:11; Ezk 7:8; 14:19; 20:8; Ho 5:10). It is a bitter poisonous liquid which makes men stagger (Is 51:17, 22; Je 25:15). The weapons of Yahweh's anger are the nations which He brings upon Israel or upon other nations whom He has decided to destroy (Is 13:5; 10:5), or His own arm (Is 30:30; 63:5; 9:11; Je 21:5), or war (metaphorically the sword, Ezk 21). A blow given in anger is given with greater strength and with a more deadly intent, and Israel asks Yahweh not to punish it in anger (Pss 6:2; 38:2). For the anger of Yahweh annihilates unless it is restrained (Nm 16:21 f; Dt 7:4; Is 30:28; 34:2, 5; 63:1-3; Je 4:23-26; Ezk 22:31). In the OT the greatest monument of Yahweh's anger is the exile by which He destroyed His own people of Israel as a nation. The effect of Yahweh's anger is death and destruction in some form (Nm 11:1, 10, 33), leprosy (Nm 12:9 f). The day of Yahweh is a day of wrath (Pss 7:7; 79:6-8; Zp 1:15, 18).

The anger of Yahweh can be averted by petition (frequently in Pss and prophets) and by intercession such as the intercession of Moses for Israel (Ex 32:11 ff; 31 ff; Nm 11:1 ff; 14:11 ff; Dt 9:19), of Amos for

Israel (Am 7:2, 5) and of Jeremiah for Judah (Je 14:7 ff; 18:20). But the OT conceived that the anger could reach a point where intercession was no longer effective and could even be rejected (Je 14:11 f; Ezk 14:14). Yahweh's anger is also modified by His patience; He is slow to anger (Ex 34:6; Nm 14:18; Ps 103:8; Jon 4:2; Na 1:3). His anger as a work of His justice is never unjust nor excessive, and He restrains it from its fullness (Ho 11:9). The reality of Yahweh's anger in the OT is no more and no less than the reality of His love of Israel, of which it is the counterpart. For Yahweh is a jealous* God, and it is because of His election* and love of Israel that He is angered by their infidelity in a way in which He is not angered by the nations. Ultimately Yahweh swears that He will no longer be angry with Israel (Is 54:9 f).

Human anger is a passion against which frequent warnings occur in the OT, especially in wisdom* literature. One should not incite others to anger (Pr 6:34; 15:1; 16:14) nor yield to anger oneself (Ps 37:7-9; Pr 19:19; 27:4; 24:19; 14:29; 15:18; 16:32).

2. NT. The common belief that the anger of God is an OT theme which gives way entirely to love in the NT is inaccurate. Jesus Himself showed anger at the heartlessness of the Pharisees (Mk 3:5), and on other occasions His words and actions seem to exhibit at least a trace of anger at the Pharisees (Mt 12:34; 23:33; 15:7) and at the unbelief of the crowd (Mt 17:17); and He puts angry words in His own mouth when He represents Himself as judge (Mt 7:23; 24:51; Lk 12:46; 13:27). John the Baptist threatened the wrath to come (Mt 3:7; Lk 3:7). The common misconception is supported to the extent that divine anger appears only once in the words of Jesus in the Gospels (Lk 21:23). But Jesus attributes anger to the king or master in the parable, particularly for obstinate unbelief or for inhumanity (Mt 18:34; 22:7; Lk 19:27). Neither should one miss the allusions to fire, which in the OT is an exhibition of the anger of God and in the NT is an instrument of punishment (Mt 3:12; 18:6 ff; 25:41; Mk 9:43-48; Lk 3:17). Anger is implied in the dreadful threats of Mt 10:28; Lk 12:5.

The concept of the divine anger appears elsewhere in the NT in the Pauline writings and in Apc and once in Jn. The anger of God which falls upon all men by their nature (Eph 2:3) is broader in scope than anything else in the OT or NT, but it is a logical consequence of the belief in the universal guilt of man (cf SIN). The anger of God abides upon those who reject the son (Jn 3:36). It is revealed from heaven (not

necessarily an eschatological sense here) against those who suppress the truth (Rm 1:18). Paul is particularly emphatic in his statement that the Jews who have impeded the preaching of the gospel have been overtaken by God's anger (1 Th 2:16); the added phrase, "to the end," is obscure, and is diversely rendered by interpreters as "at last" or "forever." False teachers also provoke the anger of God (Eph 5:6). The statement that the law works anger (Rm 4:15) is obscure; in the context it seems to mean that the law by imposing an obligation creates an occasion for God's anger which would not exist if there were no law. The obstinate and impenitent man stores up a treasure of wrath (Rm 2:4 f). The difficult "vessels of wrath" of Rm 9:22 should not be taken in a sense of rigid predestination. They are objects of God's anger but they are also the means by which He demonstrates His patience. They are, like all men, "sons of wrath," but they do not utilize God's patience in order to escape the anger which He withholds from them.

The anger of God in the NT is conceived as eschatological. The "treasure of anger" stored up by the impenitent man will be released against him in the day of wrath (Rm 2:4-5). God finally "brings anger" when He judges the world (Rm 3:5). The Christian should not revenge himself but should give place to the anger (of God) which will avenge all evil (Rm 12:19). The anger of God in Apc is eschatological, displayed in a great final judgment (Apc 11:18; 6:16). The anger is poured out from vials (Apc 16:1); it is a wine-press (Apc 14:19; 19:15; cf Is 63:1 ff). It is an intoxicating drink (Apc 16:19; cf Je 25:15 ff).

The anger of God in the NT also must be conceived in a wider context. For Paul it is a corollary of His justice (Rm 2:4-5), which is displayed in the day of wrath; without anger God could not judge the world (Rm 3:5). It is hardly necessary to add that the theme of love and mercy in the OT is the background of the theme of anger, and the relationship of the themes is best and most simply stated in the affirmation that it is Jesus who saves us from the anger (Rm 5:9; 1 Th 1:10). For were there no anger, there would be no need of deliverance.

The NT warns against human anger. The words of Jesus in Mt 5:22 are severe; He affirms the malice of the inner desire, for the roots of murder lie in anger. Admonitions against anger are found in Eph 4:26, 31; Col 3:8; anger does not produce the righteousness of God (Js 1:19 f). Control of anger is one of the qualities required in a bishop (1 Tm 2:8; Tt 1:7).

Anna (*hanna*, *anna*, Gk form of Hb Han-nah*). 1. Wife of Tobit*, who complains at his misfortunes (Tob 2:14; 5:17; 10:4). 2. A prophetess who recognized the infant Jesus as the Messiah (Lk 2:36 ff). 3. The name of the mother of Mary, the mother of Jesus, found in the apocryphal* gospels.

Annas (*annas*, shortened from *ananos*, Gk form of Hb Hananiah*) father-in-law of the high priest Caiaphas* and mentioned with him in Lk 3:2; AA 4:6. Jesus was brought to him before the session of the council which condemned Him (Jn 18:13 ff). He was appointed high priest in AD 6 by the Roman procurator Quirinius and deposed by Valerius Gratus in AD 15; the influence of Annas and his family is seen in the fact that five of his sons and Caiaphas his son-in-law held the office in subsequent years. The title given him in the NT refers to his former office. Most historians think Annas was the real leader of the priestly Sadducee party and the prime mover of the plot which brought Jesus to death.

Annunciation. This name is given to the episode in Lk 1:26-38, in which Mary* learns from the angel* Gabriel* that she is to be the mother of the Messiah. The event took place at Nazareth* before Mary's marriage to Joseph. The words of the angel are almost entirely made up of OT quotations (Gn 16:11; Jgs 5:24; 6:12; 13:3; 2 S 7:12; Is 9:6; Dn 7:14; Mi 4:7); Mary raises no objection except the fact that she is not married (1:34) and then learns that the child is the Son of God and will have no human father. The virginal conception is also related in Mt 2:18-23. Many interpreters have attributed the story of the Annunciation to Mary herself as a source; but it is more probable that it is a primitive Christian retelling of the revelation to Mary of her divine maternity, in which the pattern of the heavenly messenger as a medium of revelation is imposed upon the original account of the revelation to Mary.

Anoint. The use of oil* as a refreshing unguent was extremely common in the ancient world. The origin and precise symbolism of anointing as a sacred rite cannot be traced in Israel. It is clear that the purpose of anointing a person or thing was to make it sacred. It was done to priests*, the tent of meeting, the ark*, the furniture of the tent (Ex 31:25 ff+). Kings were anointed; it is mentioned explicitly of Saul* (1 S 10:1 ff), David* (1 S 16:13; it seems to have been repeated twice at Hebron*, once for Judah 2 S 2:4 and once for all Israel 2 S 5:3), Solomon* (1 K 1:39), Jehu*

(2 K 9:6 ff); Jehoash* (2 K 11:12); Jehoahaz* (2 K 23:30). The anointing of Saul, David, and Jehu was done by a prophet, that of Solomon by a priest; probably either sacred person could perform the ceremony, and it is most likely that a prophetic oracle (of which Ps 2 may contain an example) was delivered. The anointing of Hazael* as king of Damascus* by Elijah* is commanded in 1 K 19:15, but its accomplishment is never related. The anointing of Elisha* by Elijah is commanded (1 K 19:16) but never executed, and anointing is not mentioned for any other prophet. Perhaps "anoint" is carelessly used in 1 K 19:16 to signify "appoint as successor." The unidentified speaker in Is 61:1, however, who is described in prophetic terms, affirms that he is anointed to announce the good news to the poor. Here and in other passages (1 S 10:10 ff; 16:13) anointing brings the spirit* of Yahweh upon the person and impels him to some extraordinary deed; but even where it is not mentioned, anointing made the person a charismatic officer whose mission could be executed under the impulsion of the spirit. Anointing as a sacred rite is not mentioned in the NT unless in the anointing of the sick in Js 5:14; the Gk word here used (*aleiphō*), however, is never used either in the LXX or the NT of a sacred rite, for which the word *chriō* is used. On the title *christos*, Hb *māšiah*, cf JESUS CHRIST; MESSIAH.

Ant. The ant is mentioned in the Bible only in Pr 6:6-8; 30:25; in both passages it is an example of industry and foresight.

Anthropomorphism. The representation of God in human traits. Anthropomorphism prevails throughout the OT. The OT speaks of God's eyes, ears, mouth, lips, arms, bowels (as seat of compassion), heart. In addition to the physical traits God is endowed with human emotions: kindness, love, anger, but not the ignoble emotions. God lives, speaks, hears, thinks, plans, desires, loves, hates, commands, moves from place to place, dwells. The NT continues the anthropomorphisms of the OT.

In comparison with the anthropomorphism of ancient religions, the OT is extremely restrained. The gods of these religions were human in form and were so represented (cf IMAGE). Hebrew law prohibited any image of Yahweh, affirming that He was different from any creature and so could not be represented. This apparent paradox preserves the divine transcendence, while the use of anthropomorphisms is the primary factor in the Hebrew conception of God as a living person; He is never an impersonal

or demonic force. He governs the world by an intelligent plan and His moral will imposes itself upon the will of man. Thus Hebrew religion from beginning to end was a personal relation of God and man and demanded a personal response.

It is also of importance to notice that through most of the OT the Hebrews had no idea of spiritual reality. God was indeed "spirit and not flesh," but this meant to them no more than a vast difference which they were incapable of defining. In later Judaism anthropomorphisms were avoided in favor of circumlocutions, and it is evident that this made the personal religion of Judaism less intense than that of the OT.

Antichrist (Gk *antichristos*, "the adversary of Christ"), the word occurs in the NT only in 1 Jn 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7, where it is used as a term well known. The figure of a great adversary of God or of the Messiah whose war against God will reach its peak just before the great final judgment can be traced in Jewish apocalyptic* literature, which has derived many features of the figure from Gog* (Ezk 38) and from the beasts of Dn 7:1 ff. The NT has drawn some allusions from this Jewish mythological conception of the last days. This figure does not appear in the eschatological discourses of the Gospels, although the false messiahs and false prophets there mentioned are somewhat similar (Mt 24:5, 23 f; Mk 13:21 f). There is little doubt that the "man of sin" (2 Th 2:3-12) is the same figure; he raises himself up even above the divine and proclaims himself a god. Now he is restrained by some power which Paul had identified in his discourses, but which we can no longer identify; when this restraining influence is removed, the man of sin will be revealed and destroyed in the final consummation. But his revelation will be accompanied by signs and powers and many will be deceived; this is the great apostasy which precedes the Parousia*. A similar figure appears in Apc 11:7 ff, the beast which comes out of the abyss, and in 13:1-10, the beast which comes from the sea, uttering blasphemies and conquering the earth. This beast is followed by another beast (13:11-18) which performs wonders and makes men worship the first beast; the number of the second beast is 666. The beasts are connected with the "Scarlet Woman" of 17:1 ff, who is a thinly disguised personification of Rome (17:9 ff). The beast and its false prophet are flung into the fiery pit in 19:20 f. The picture of the beasts is derived from Dn 7:1 ff.

The figure of Antichrist has been interpreted in many ways; but there are good reasons for doubting the long established

opinion that he signifies a real historical-eschatological figure. In *Apc* the connection of the beast with Rome is too close for him to be anything else than the persecuting imperial power; and no better explanation of the cipher 666 has been proposed than that which finds it the sum of the numerical value of the Hb letters of the name Caesar Nero (KSR NRW), the emperor (AD 54–68) who first put Christians to death. The “man of sin” also is now at work in Paul’s conception. The allusions in 1 Jn and 2 Jn seem directed against the belief of early Christians that Antichrist was eschatological; there are many Antichrists, and anyone who denies Jesus is Antichrist. Antichrist is rather a personification of the powers of evil which occasionally focus in some individual person and can be expected to do so again. The consummate wickedness of Antichrist is depicted in traits which suggest diabolical malice; but this is a poetic emphasis upon his malice rather than an indication that Antichrist is diabolically possessed, or still less that he is a diabolical incarnation.

Anti-Lebanon. A chain of mountains running N and S parallel to the Lebanon* range, from which it is separated by the valley of the Beqaa. Its summit is a plateau with an average altitude of 7500 ft. The chain terminates at Mt Hermon* on the S. In contrast with the Lebanon it is bare and rocky, especially on the nearly unpopulated E slope. The name occurs in the Bible only in Jdt 1:7.

Antioch (Gk *antiocheia*). **1.** An ancient city of Syria on the site of the modern Antakia, which preserves the name. The city was located on the Orontes river where it passes between the Lebanon and the Taurus ranges. It lay about 17 mi from the sea and was served by its port city Seleucia. The city was founded by Seleucus in 300 bc and named after his father Antiochus. The fertile plain of Antioch no doubt supported agriculture for thousands of years, but no trace of an earlier city has appeared. It was the royal city of the Seleucid kings. The city was a Greek military colony, but it grew by immigration of the neighboring indigenous peoples to become one of the largest cities of the Hellenistic-Roman world; its population in the 2nd century BC is estimated at 500,000 and some scholars believe that “Greater Antioch” included 800,000. Antioch had a large and prosperous Jewish colony which suffered losses under Caligula (AD 37–41). The city was renowned for its many splendid buildings and was a great commercial center. It enjoyed a not entirely favorable reputation as a city of pleasure and

vice. After the collapse of the Seleucid kingdom it was ruled by Tigranes of Armenia after 83 bc and by the Romans after 64 bc, who made it a free city and the capital of the province of Syria. During the Roman period Antioch became a famous intellectual center; this activity lasted into Christian times, when Antioch was one of the most important theological schools of the 4th–6th centuries. The city was excavated by Princeton University and the National Museums of France 1932–1939; the remains discovered belong to the post-biblical period.

In the OT Antioch appears only in 1–2 Mc as the royal city of the Seleucids* and the base of their operations against the Jews (1 Mc 3:37; 4:35+). The books allude to the battle in which Lysias* gained possession of the city from Philip* (1 Mc 6:63), to the assumption of the crown of Syria at Antioch by Ptolemy VI Philometor (1 Mc 11:13), and the capture of the city by Tryphon* from Demetrius* II (1 Mc 11:56). The suburb of Daphne, which was a great sanctuary of Apollo, was the refuge of the high priest Onias* (2 Mc 4:33).

Antioch first appears in the NT in AA 11:19 ff. The Christian community of the city was founded by fugitives from the persecution of the Christians in Jerusalem which followed the death of Stephen*. The preaching of the fugitives was directed to the Jews except for some Cyprians and Cyreneans, who brought some of the Greeks to accept the gospel. The success of the evangelical preaching was so great that the Jerusalem community sent Barnabas* to the city (AA 11:22). Barnabas summoned Paul* from Tarsus (AA 11:26); this is the first recorded apostolic work of Paul. They remained there a year. It was at Antioch that the name Christian* was first applied to the followers of Jesus (AA 11:26), but we do not know from what source the name came.

It is evident from other allusions to Antioch that the Christian community of the city during the first generation of the Church was large and important, second only to Jerusalem (if second). It is evident also that it was the largest community and probably the first of Gentile Christians, and that its influence was primary in widening the view of membership and observances in the Church. In its very beginning the community was large and rich enough to collect a generous subvention for the Jerusalem community, which it sent through Barnabas and Paul (AA 11:27–30); relations at this time were more cordial than they were a few years later. It is possible that Antioch was the home of Luke. It is probably no more than a coincidence that prophets* at Antioch are mentioned twice (AA 11:27;

13:1). The power and independence of the Antioch community appears in the decision to send Barnabas and Paul on a missionary journey (AA 13:1 ff), taken with no consultation of other officers of the Church; and Barnabas and Paul reported to the authorities of Antioch on the results of the journey (AA 14:26 ff). It was no doubt the broad Gentile Christianity of Antioch which Paul and Barnabas preached in the cities of Asia Minor. After their return, however, a dissension arose between the Jewish and the Christian churches concerning the necessity of Jewish observances for Gentile Christians. The episode of Gal 2:11 ff should be placed in this period, when Cephas* on a visit to Antioch associated freely with Gentiles, but withdrew from their company when some members of the rigid party arrived from Jerusalem—an action for which he was rebuked by Paul. Paul and Barnabas represented the church of Antioch at the deliberations in Jerusalem and with Judas* and Silas* communicated to the church of Antioch the decision in which the question was resolved. Barnabas and Paul again resided at Antioch for an extended visit, and Paul returned to Antioch after his second journey (AA 18:22). Antioch was the church of Paul up to this point in his life, and he did not conduct himself as its head; but the city is not mentioned again after this visit, after which Paul was associated with the churches which he himself had founded.

2. A city in Pisidia in central Asia Minor, founded by Seleucus in 280 BC. It was declared a free city by Rome in 189 BC and passed under Roman rule by inheritance from Amyntas of Phrygia in 25 BC. The remains of the city lie near the modern Turkish village of Yalvaz. Excavations of the University of Michigan have revealed a propylaeum and city squares which were built in the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.

Pisidian Antioch was evangelized by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey. They addressed themselves to the Jews, but when the Jews rejected them they turned to the Gentiles, not without success. The bitterness of the encounter was unusual; the Jews not only got them expelled from the city, but even pursued them to Lystra*, where they incited the people to stone Paul (AA 13:14–52; 14:19). These sufferings are alluded to in 2 Tm 3:11. The church of Antioch was revisited by Paul and Barnabas shortly afterwards (AA 14:21).

Antiochus (Gk *antiochos*, “withstander”), the name of ten kings of the Seleucid* dynasty, of whom four are mentioned in the OT. Antiochus III the Great (223–187 BC) is not mentioned by name: but Dn 11:10–17

mentions his two campaigns against Egypt. His initial success was arrested by his defeat at Raphia in 217 BC; the second campaign, in which he finally defeated Ptolemy V at Panion, brought Palestine under Seleucid rule. 1. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, son of Antiochus III the Great and successor of his brother Seleucus IV Philopator as king of Syria* (175–164 BC). Antiochus had been taken to Rome as a hostage after the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans at Magnesia in 190 BC. He was exchanged for Demetrius*; the son of Seleucus IV, in 175 and seized the throne of Syria, with the consent of Rome, when Seleucus was assassinated by Heliodorus, his chief minister. Ancient historians describe him as eccentric and capricious, mingling with the crowds in revelry and carelessly distributing huge sums of money, capable of the barbaric cruelty which disfigured the age. In 169 BC he undertook a successful war against Egypt, invaded the country and captured Ptolemy VI; an embassy from Rome halted his second campaign at the Egyptian frontier (Dn 11:25–30). He then turned his ambitions toward Armenia and Persia and died during this expedition in the east.

There was already before the accession of Antiochus a strong movement in favor of Hellenism* among the wealthy and the priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, and it was at the initiative of this group that Antiochus permitted them, led by Jason*, to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem (1 Mc 1:11 ff). The party wished to abandon utterly the religious and cultural traditions of Israel and assimilate the nation to Hellenistic civilization. The majority of the Jews were conservative and resisted this movement; and strained relations were aggravated when Antiochus returned from Egypt. Menelaus, the brother of Jason, had expelled him from the priesthood by force and civil strife had broken out (2 Mc 4:23 ff; 5:5 ff); and to Antiochus this seemed to be rebellion. He therefore took the excuse to plunder the temple and fill up his treasury, depleted by his Egyptian campaigns (1 Mc 1:20 ff; 2 Mc 5:15 ff), and suppressed the disorders with bloody thoroughness. But the question of the Jewish religion and Hellenism was unsolved; and the Hellenizing Jews represented the religion as the root of disloyalty and rebellion. Antiochus then determined to impose Hellenistic religion and culture by force and to pacify the nation before he departed on further campaigns. His officers were empowered to suppress Jewish worship, sacred books, and religious practices, and to institute the celebration of Greek festivals and the worship of Greek gods. An altar of Zeus Olympios, the “abomination of deso-

lation** was erected in the temple. Resistance, at first passive, finally became revolt under Mattathias* and his son Judas*, and the Syrian forces were not numerous enough to suppress it. Before the death of Antiochus Judas had succeeded in regaining possession of the temple and rededicating it.

2. Antiochus V Eupator, son and successor of Antiochus IV as king of Syria (164–162 BC). A minor, Antiochus ruled with Lysias* whom Antiochus IV had appointed regent. Both were murdered by Demetrius I Soter*, a son of Seleucus IV (1 Mc 6:17; 7:1–4).

3. Antiochus VI Dionysos, son of Alexander Balas*, installed as king by Tryphon*, who rebelled against Demetrius* II. A minor, he ruled under Tryphon as regent (145–142 BC); he confirmed Jonathan* as high priest and made him one of the “King’s Friends” (1 Mc 11:39, 57 ff). The Jews at first supported Antiochus and Tryphon against Demetrius, but the treachery of Tryphon turned them against him. Tryphon murdered Antiochus and himself assumed the throne (1 Mc 13:31 f).

4. Antiochus VII Sidetes, son of Demetrius II and king of Syria 139–129 BC. He undertook to recover the throne for the Seleucid house from Tryphon, ostensibly on behalf of his older brother, Demetrius II, who had been captured by the Parthians. He sought and received the help of the Jews under Simon*, and defeated Tryphon. After his victory, he laid claim to Joppa* and Gezer* and the citadel of Jerusalem, which the Jews had taken during the usurpation of Tryphon; but Simon refused to cede them, and a campaign by Antiochus’ general Cendebaeus* to recover them was unsuccessful (1 Mc 15:1 ff).

Antipas. Cf HEROD ANTIPAS.

Antipater (Gk *antipatros*, “like the father”).

1. Son of Jason, sent with Numenius* as ambassador to Rome and Sparta from Jonathan* (1 Mc 12:16; 14:22). 2. Father of Herod* the Great.

Antipatris. Cf APHEK.

Antonia. Cf GABBATHA.

Apelles (Gk *apellēs*, perhaps connected with Apollo), a Roman Christian “approved in the Lord” greeted by Paul (Rm 16:10). The name occurs in inscriptions; it is probably merely coincidental that Horace uses Apella as a Jewish name (Sat. 1, 5, 100), but it suggests that it was a common Jewish name.

Aphek (Hb *ʾpēk*, meaning uncertain), the name of several towns. 1. A Canaanite town included in the list of cities taken by Joshua (Jos 12:18), twice the site of the Philistine* camp before their invasion of the highlands (1 S 4:1; 29:1). The site is very probably the modern Ras el Ain in the coastal plain near Joppa* to the NE; it has a copious spring which is the source of the river Yarkon, which flows into the Mediterranean. In the 1st century BC the town was rebuilt by Herod* and named Antipatris after his father. Paul and his escort spent the night there on their journey from Jerusalem to Caesarea (AA 23:31).

2. A town of Asher (Jos 19:30) which was held by the Canaanites after the Israelite settlement (Jgs 1:31). The site is probably Tell Kurdaneh, a short distance SSE of Acco*. 3. The scene of the defeat of Ben-hadad* of Damascus by Ahab* of Israel (1 K 20:26, 30), not held by the Israelites. In memory of this victory Elisha* directed Jehoash* of Israel to shoot in the direction of Aphek (2 K 13:17). The site is probably Fik E of the Sea of Galilee. 4. A town vaguely located on the border of the Canaanites and the Amorites (Jos 13:4); possibly Afqa on the slopes of Mt Lebanon E of Byblos.

Apocalypse (Gk *apokalypsis*, “revelation,” from which the title Revelations in Eng Protestant Bibles).

1. *Contents:*

Title, 1:1–3; epistolary introduction, 1:4–8. Introductory vision, 1:9–20.

First part, letters to the seven churches, 2:1–3:22.

2:1–7, Ephesus; 2:8–11, Smyrna; 2:12–17, Pergamon; 2:18–29, Thyatira; 3:1–6, Sardis; 3:7–13, Philadelphia; 3:14–22, Laodicea.

Second part: The end of the present age and the coming of the new age, 4:1–22:5.

4:1–11, introductory vision, the throne of God.

First act of the eschatological drama, 5:1–11:14.

5:1–8:1, the seven seals; after the 6th seal there is a pause with a vision of the victory of the servants of God, 7:1–17.

8:2–11:14, the seven trumpets; there is an interlude after the 6th trumpet, the vision of the book, the temple, the death and resurrection of the two witnesses, 10:1–11:14.

Second act of the eschatological drama, 11:15–20:15.

12:1–14:5, attacks on the church by the dragon and the beasts.

14:6–20:15, the judgment of God against His enemies:

The sickles, 14:6-20; the seven cups, 15:1-16:21; the judgment of Babylon, 17:1-19:10; the judgment on the beast, 19:11-21; the judgment on Satan (binding for 1000 years, 1000 year reign of the saints, final battle), 20:1-10; resurrection and judgment, 20:11-15.

Third act of the eschatological drama: the kingdom of God and the new Jerusalem, 21:1-22:5.

21:1-8, the new creation; 21:9-22:5, the new Jerusalem.

Conclusion, 22:6-21.

On the literary background of this type of literature cf APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE. The authors of this literature did not make the distinction we make between prophecy* and apocalyptic writing; the titles prophet and prophecy are applied to Apc in the book itself (1:3; 10:7; 11:18; 22:6, 9, 18). The symbolic-allegorical vision is characteristic of apocalyptic writing, and it is the basic material of Apc. Occasionally the symbolism is explained (1:20; 4:5; 5:6; 17:9 f; 19:8). In most instances it is left unexplained, and its meaning is reconstructed by modern scholars, if at all, only by laborious exploration of the background of the passage. The free use of such cryptic symbols seems to presuppose a conventional language of symbolism known to the author and his readers. At times it is fairly obvious; the description of the Son of Man (1:13-16) clothes him with visual attributes each of which has a manifest symbolism of his attributes. The symbolism of colors is used (6:1-8; 17:4; 19:8). The symbolism of numbers is much employed: 7 signifies totality, 6 imperfection, 12 Israel (old and new), 4 the world (the four points of the compass or the four elements: land, sea, heavens, abyss), 1000 immensity.

While explicit citations of the OT in Apc are not numerous, allusions and echoes are so frequent that many parts of the book appear to be a patchwork of OT images; difficult as the book is, it is completely unintelligible without constant reference to the OT sources which it uses. The following list is only partial: 8:1, silence (Hab 2:20; Zp 1:7; Zc 2:17); 10:3, the roaring of the lion (Je 25:30; Jl 4:16; Am 1:2); 11:19; 15:8, the appearance of the ark and the cloud (2 Mc 2:5-8); 15:2-3, the seashore (Ex 14:15); 12:1-17, the woman and the serpent (Gn 3); 1:8, the revelation of the name (Ex 3:14); 4:8, hymn before the throne (Is 6:1-3); 9 and 16, the plagues (Ex 7-10); 12:4, 14; 13:1-8, 15; 17:12; 20:4, persecution (Dn 3:5-7:15; 8:10); 14:14, the Son of Man (Dn 7:13); 20:4, 12, the judgment (Dn 7:10, 22); 4:1-11, the throne of God (Ezk 1 and 10); 5:1;

10:10, the sealed book (Ezk 2:9; 3:3); 6:1-3, 8, the scourges (Zc 1:8-10; Ezk 14:21); 7:1, angels (Ezk 7:2); 7:3, the servants of God marked (Ezk 9:4); 8:5, fire as symbol of punishment (Ezk 10:2); 8:13, the release of woes (Ezk 7:5, 26); 17, the harlot (Ezk 16, 23); 18, lamentations over the fallen city (Ezk 27-28); 19:17 ff, invitation to birds of prey (Ezk 39:17-20); 20:7-10, attack of Gog (Ezk 38-39); 21:9-22:2, the new Jerusalem (Ezk 40-47). Apc is to a large extent a rethinking and a rearrangement of OT symbolism, with particular application to the time and situation of the author.

2. *Literary Composition.* Numerous critics have suggested that the book is a compilation rather than a single literary production. In several series of visions there is no apparent progress of thought and sometimes no logical link. Furthermore, the antinomies between some visions do not suggest a single author. Several hypotheses of compilation from distinct sources have been proposed; these lack a good foundation in the text and are excessively complex, and no theory has been widely accepted.

Also attempted to explain these uneven qualities by certain laws of composition which he thought he detected in Apc. "The law of anticipation" means that the following event is anticipated in a preceding scene: 13 is anticipated in 11:1-13; 17-19 in 14:8; 16 in 14:10; 19:17-21 in 16:12-14; 21-22 in 19:7-9. These create an overlapping series of links which tie the whole together. "The law of undulation" means that the same succession of events is recapitulated in different forms. "The laws of antithesis and periodicity" refer to a kind of interruption and even reversal of movement at the 6th element of each of the series of seven of which the book is mostly composed. There are seven series of seven; each of them is preceded by a preparatory vision: the letters (1:9-20 + 2:1-3:22); the seals (4:1-5:14 + 6:1-7:17); the trumpets (8:1-6 + 8:7-11:14); the signs in the sky (11:15-19 + 12:1-14:20); the cups of wrath (15:1-16:1 + 16:2-16); the heavenly voices (16:17-21 + 17:1-19:5); the visions of the end (19:6-10 + 19:11-22:5). This structure, if indeed it is not the result of exegetical ingenuity, is the work of a unifying mind; but there are other difficulties which may make it necessary to attribute the unity to a compiler and not to the author. There is evident disorder in 22:6-21. There are two visions of the new Jerusalem, one eschatological-celestial (21:1-8), the other messianic-terrestrial (21:9-22:5). There are doublets: the beast (12:1, 3, 8; 14:8 and 17:3, 8; 18:2) with two different symbolisms; the dragon (12:9, 12

and 20:2 f), also with two different symbolisms, "two parallel employments of the same theme and two different traditions" (Boismard). Charles and Gaechter have suggested that the author died before the work was finished and that the disciples published it in a disarranged condition. Boismard has proposed a more complex scheme. He suggests that one author prepared two parallel apocalypses at two different periods, of which perhaps one or neither was complete. These were later fused in a single document. The earlier of these (I) comes from the reign of Nero (AD 54-68), the other (II) from late in the reign of Vespasian (AD 69-79) or early in the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96). The contents of each are outlined in the accompanying box:

time of the author, or traditional-mythological. This last approach (Gunkel, Bousset, Charles) proposes that the author employs material from ancient mythological traditions, both Jewish and Gentile, to present the end of the world process in terms of its beginning. All three approaches are valid, since the book represents all three elements; but no single interpretation can be proposed.

Apc is a Christian apocalypse, not a Jewish apocalypse; Jesus Christ is a dominant figure, and this is in evident contrast with the suppression of the Messiah* in most Jewish apocalyptic literature. He appears as the redeemer, the glorified and exalted Son of Man, the victor in the eschatological combat, the judge (1:5; 2:26 ff; 3:21; 5:6, 9; 7:14, 17; 12:5, 11; 13:8; 19:11,

	I	II
Prologue		10:1-2a, 3-4, 8-11
Satan against the Church	12:1-6, 13-17	12:7-12
The beast against the Church		13
Announcement and preliminaries of the great day of wrath	4-9; 10:1-2b, 5-7; 11:14-18	14-16
The great day of wrath:		
Babylon	17:1-9, 15-18	17:10, 12-14
Fall of Babylon	18:1-3	14:8
The elect delivered		18:4-8
Lamentation for Babylon	18:9-13, 15-19, 21, 24	18:14, 22 f
Songs of triumph	19:1-10	18-20 (16:5-7)
The messianic kingdom	20:1-6	
The eschatological combat	20:7-10	19:11-21
The judgment	20:13-15	20:11-12
The new Jerusalem	21:9-22; 22:6-15	21:1-4; 22:3-5; 21:5-8
Appendix: the two witnesses		11:1-13, 19

It is difficult to affirm or deny with certainty that this or any other scheme represents the composition of the book, and the authors of these schemes intend no such affirmation of their own work or the work of others. The schemes illustrate the wide agreement that the composition of Apc is not to be attributed to a single author intending to produce a unified work, and it may be taken as the consensus of scholars that Apc was not so written. Further study is necessary before a general agreement on the composition can be expected.

3. *Theology.* The allegorism and symbolism of Apc have made the book a favorite of allegorical and symbolical interpretation, and some lines of interpretation may be excluded at once. Apc is not a prophetic history of the Church, and the unfolding of its symbolism is not to be sought in contemporary history. Neither is it a purely spiritual allegory with no reference to the history contemporary with the author. Modern interpreters follow the lines of eschatology, proposing that Apc is entirely eschatological in outlook, or of history, proposing that Apc reflects the events of the

15; 21:1, 3, 22 ff; 22:1, 3, 14).

The interpretation of Apc must take account of the fact that the letters to the seven churches are not in the same literary genre with the rest of the book. The letters contain no visions and propose moral admonitions with no eschatology; the rest of the book has no moral teachings and is a succession of visions. The motivation of the moral teaching by the eschatological teaching is indirect at best; and the connection may arise from compilation.

The direction of the book toward a contemporary situation cannot be doubted. It is characteristic of apocalyptic literature that it is written for a crisis, and the crisis here is suggested by numerous allusions to persecution and martyrs. This must be the early persecutions by Roman authorities, and Apc itself suggests this. Babylon is Rome, the city of the seven hills (17:5, 9). The number of the beast, 666 (13:18), represents the sum of the numerical value of the letters of the name Caesar Nero written in Hb characters (KSR NRW); cf ANTICHRIST. Apc is a response to the crisis of faith caused by persecution, and it is given in the apocalyp-

tic tradition; one must await in faith and hope the salvation and the judgment of God, convinced that the persecutor must fall before he succeeds in destroying the people of God.

The salvation and the judgment are conceived in eschatological terms. Other biblical books besides *Apc* merge history and eschatology and use the imagery of the end-process to describe contemporary events. "In the struggle between the Church and the Roman state the author sees the decisive struggle between God and Satan which ends with the victory of God and the final annihilation of all powers hostile to God. This struggle ushers in the end of this world period and the beginning of the everlasting kingdom of God" (Wikenhauser). The attributes by which God saves and judges in any particular historical situation are the same attributes by which He finally accomplishes His purpose of saving and judgment; and thus they are portrayed in particular events. The eschatological combat is not merely eschatological but always present in the life of the Church, which thus has an eschatological perspective. The reality of the threat of evil and the promises of God to maintain His Church are valid for all times. And this is the answer to the question of the relevance of *Apc* for Christians of all ages; in modern times Christian readers have less sympathy for this type of literature than for any other biblical type.

Two particular problems arise in the theology of *Apc*. For the problem of the 1000 years of the binding of Satan and the reign of the elect of *MILLENNIUM*. The problem of the identity of the woman of ch 12 is the question of whether the woman is Mary. That this was intended by the author can be sustained on no basis in the text itself. The woman is no doubt a second Eve, but the author shows no knowledge of this title given to Mary. The woman is also the mother of the Messiah (who must be the child), but her adventures cannot be explained in any intelligible form as applied to Mary. They are understood if the woman is understood as the people of God, which bears both the Messiah and the new people of God (the two are not perfectly distinguished); and this is the interpretation of most exegetes.

4. *Authorship and Canonicity*. *Apc* was rejected by Caius of Rome in the early 3rd century, and with serious arguments by Dionysius of Alexandria at the close of the 3rd century. Many Gk fathers rejected it; Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Theodoret (and probably the entire school of Antioch). These doubts did not persist. They arose from a doubt of the authorship by John the Apostle, which has

nothing to do with the canonicity of the book.

The author calls himself John (1:1, 4, 9; 22:8) and says he experienced his visions on the island of Patmos. That this is John the Apostle was affirmed by Justin, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, the Canon of Muratori, Hippolytus, and most fathers after them. The internal character of *Apc* does not support this attribution, and the reasons were set forth by Dionysius of Alexandria. Of all the Johannine writings only *Apc* claims Jn as its author by name. The keywords of Jn and 1 Jn are absent from *Apc*: life, light-darkness, truth-lie, grace, judgment, love, world, Holy Spirit, adoption, faith. The few contacts with Jn (living water, good shepherd, lamb, witness, word) are less impressive than the differences. The Gk of *Apc* is the worst of the NT, much inferior to Jn and 1 Jn. It abounds with barbarisms and solecisms. The author thinks in Hb while he writes in Gk. Grammatical and stylistic irregularity is normal with him.

It is the consensus of modern scholars that *Apc* cannot be attributed to the author of Jn and 1 Jn, whoever this may have been. That it comes from a school of Johannine thought may be admitted; but that one man could have written all of them is an affirmation which simply rejects literary criticism as a valid process of thought. The author then must be left unidentified.

5. *Date and Place*. While Patmos may be a literary fiction, the connection of *Apc* with the churches of Asia is definite; one can scarcely be more precise than this. Tradition mostly dated *Apc* about the end of the reign of Domitian; but the tradition was somewhat confused by the attribution of *Apc* to John the Apostle, and an effort to fit it into the traditional (and quite unverified) career of John is evident. The source of a variant tradition which placed *Apc* in the reign of Claudius (Epiphanius) or Nero (Canon of Muratori, others) cannot be traced, but it should not be dismissed. The confusion, according to some critics, comes from the author himself, who wrote in the reign of Domitian but by a literary artifice placed himself in the reign of Vespasian; this antedating is not evident from the text. In favor of the date AD 94-95 can be alleged the spread and establishment of the Church in Asia and possible allusions in *Apc* to the cult of the divine Caesar. This was first imposed by Domitian and, if verified, would be a convincing argument for a later date. But the hypothesis of compilation (cf above) permits different dates for different parts of the book.

Apocalyptic Literature. A type of literature

which was widely diffused in Judaism from 200 BC to AD 200. On the separate examples of this type of APOCRYPHAL BOOKS. Apocryphal literature is pseudonymous, proposed under the name of some celebrity of the past, such as Enoch* or Moses*. It pretends to be a revelation of the future up to the time in which the reader finds himself, granted to the ancient hero and kept secret until the present. The medium of revelation is the vision, the opening of the heavens, the communications of angels. The visions usually reveal the future in complicated symbolism which is not always interpreted in the apocalypse, but can be explained if the contemporary history is sufficiently known. The apocalyptic literature deals with the final period of world history and the world catastrophe; here the powers of evil make the supreme struggle against God and are finally routed after a dreadful and bloody combat. These powers, allegorically described, are the world powers of contemporary history, which in apocalyptic literature is the last of the world periods before the end. In this combat the Jewish nation, sometimes represented with a messianic leader, triumphs over the world, and much of the false messianism* of NT times can be traced in the apocalyptic books. There are visions of the Paradise* of the blessed and the Gehenna* of the damned.

Apocalyptic literature has its roots in the OT. Prophecy* was deeply rooted in the national life of Israel and ceased to exist in its traditional form after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BC: Haggai* and Malachi* are weaker imitators of the earlier prophets; but in Zechariah* almost entirely, in Jl 2:1-11; 4:1-21, in Daniel* almost entirely, and in other compositions which were added to the books of the preexilic prophets a new form of literature appears which is the beginning of apocalyptic literature; the seer has replaced the prophet. The elements of world catastrophe, the climactic conflict of evil against God, the allegorical description of contemporary history, can be seen in Is 13 and 24-27; Ezk 38-39; Zp 1:14-18. Prophecy could focus upon the national life in the living present; once this point of interest was removed, the seer began to look for the fulfillment of God's will and the establishment of His kingdom in the future.

The single example of this type of literature in the NT is the Apocalypse*.

Apocryphal Books (Gk *apokryphos*, "hidden") books for which divine authorship is falsely claimed. Catholics apply the term apocryphal to the books listed below, both I and II. Protestants apply the term to those

books which are omitted from the Protestant canon* but are found in the Catholic canon; Catholics call these books deuterocanonical*. The books listed below in I are called pseudepigrapha by Protestants. These books are written in imitation of the canonical books of the Bible and pretend to the same authority, offering supplementary revelation which is lately revealed after being long hidden, hence their name. They are classified under each Testament. As historical sources the apocryphal books have little or no value. They are, however, extremely valuable for reconstructing the popular beliefs of Judaism in NT times and for tracing certain obscure heretical currents in the early Church.

I. Old Testament

1. Narrative:

1 Esdras. This book, with the exception of chs. 3:1-5:6, is compiled from the canonical books of Ch, Ezr, Ne and narrates the history of Judah from the passover of Josiah* to the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BC, the decree of Cyrus* permitting the rebuilding of the temple and the return of the first group of exiles, the rebuilding of the temple against Samaritan opposition, the return of Ezra* and the reading of the Law to the people. The added chapters tell how the Jewish hero Zerubbabel*, one of three pages of Darius*, defeated his two companions in a competition of oratory by his speech defending truth as the strongest of all things. The book is also called 3 Esdras. It is an original translation of the canonical portions into Gk and may be dated in the 3rd or 2nd century BC; it was probably composed in Egypt.

3 Maccabees. This relates the attempt of Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt to enter the temple of Jerusalem, from which he was miraculously repelled, his efforts to persecute the Jews in Alexandria*, also miraculously foiled, and his conversion to a patron of the Jews. The historical value of this account is not confirmed. It is written in Greek, very probably in Alexandria about 100 BC.

Book of Jubilees. The book retells the events from Gn 1:1-Ex 12:51, as ostensibly revealed to Moses* on Sinai*. It teaches the eternal validity of the Law by recasting the events of Gn so that the Law, created in the beginning, is the norm for the patriarchs. It also contains a great number of Jewish legends about the patriarchs and expansions of Gn which are historically without value. It was written by a Pharisee during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-103 BC) and is preserved in an Ethiopic version of the lost Gk version of the Hb original, also lost.

Books of Adam and Eve. These include the life of Adam and Eve, preserved in

a Lt translation of a Gk original and the apocalypse of Moses, written in Gk. They fill in the period between the expulsion from Paradise* and the death of Adam and Eve. There are two accounts of the fall, one from Adam and Eve, a story of the expulsion of Satan* from heaven by Michael*, and the story of Adam's burial in heaven by the angels, where his body is preserved until the resurrection. They were most probably written between AD 20-70.

Martyrdom of Isaiah. A collection of three works: the martyrdom, the vision, the ascension of Isaiah. The first relates how Isaiah was sawn asunder by Manasseh, and is preserved in an Ethiopic version of the Hb original, written early in the 1st century AD. The other two are Christian compositions of the latter 1st and early 2nd centuries AD, relating Isaiah's vision of Christ and his journey through the seven heavens, where he sees the birth, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. They were written in Gk and were glossed, especially the martyrdom, by Christians in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Letter of Aristeas. This is a splendid example of Jewish apologetic. It purports to be a letter from Aristeas, an officer of the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-246 BC). Demetrius of Phaleron, the librarian of the great library of Alexandria, suggested to the king that the library needed a collection of the Jewish sacred books. A mission was sent to Jerusalem and Eleazar appointed 72 men, six from each of the 12 tribes, to do the translation. When they arrived at Alexandria, the king proposed a philosophical question to each of the 72 at a banquet which lasted several days. The 72 finished the translation on the island of Pharos in 72 days. The letter contains an exaggerated description of the magnificence of Jerusalem and praise of the Law. The letter is not the work of Aristeas, but of a Jewish writer (145-100 BC). The story has no historical basis, but it is the origin of the name Septuagint (Lt *septuaginta*, "seventy") for the Gk translation of the OT; cf SEPTUAGINT.

2. *Apocalypses:*

Books of Enoch. These include the Ethiopic Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch. The Ethiopic Enoch relates the story of the fall of the angels and describes the coming and the judgment of the Messiah, a heavenly being who is called the son* of man or the "elect one." Enoch travels through the earth, the underworld, and the heavens and learns how to reckon the calendar. He foretells the deluge and the history of Israel to the coming of the Messiah under the allegory of animals; the history of the world is divided into ten weeks before the judgment. The book is

preserved in an Ethiopic version of the lost Gk version of an Aramaic (or possibly Hb) original, also lost. It was compiled from various writings of Pharisaic origin of the 2nd century BC and was very popular among Christians in the first three centuries AD. It is quoted in Jd 14-15.

The Slavonic Enoch (also called the Secrets of Enoch), dependent on the Ethiopic Enoch, tells of Enoch's journey through heaven and hell and his visions of the angels, and his revelation of history from the fall to the deluge. It is a Jewish book written in Gk before AD 70 and preserved in Slavonic. Its present form exhibits reworking by Christians.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The classification of this work as apocalyptic is justified by the revelations of the future of Israel contained in the testaments, but it is somewhat misleading. The principal emphasis lies in the moral exhortations which each of the sons of Jacob delivers to his sons; in each a virtue is selected which is associated with some event of the patriarch's life either in Gn or in Jewish legend. The book is preserved in a Gk version of its Hb or Aramaic original, and comes from the late 2nd or early 1st century BC. Some scholars had already assigned its origins to a devout ascetical sect of Jews; recent studies have indicated a possible connection with the group which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls; cf QUMRAN.

Sibylline Oracles. The story of the Sibyl, a prophetess, is of Gk origin and goes back at least to the 5th century BC. Rome had a collection of Sibylline books. The ancient oracles were widely imitated in later centuries. This form of literature was imitated by the Jews, who attributed to the pagan seer praises of Israel, condemnations of idolatry, and the foretelling of their own history and the Messianic times. Christians added some oracles foretelling the life of Christ and reworked some of the Jewish oracles. A compilation of all three was made about the 6th century AD. They were written in Gk from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 2nd century AD, some perhaps later.

Assumption of Moses. The testament of Moses to Joshua*, foretelling the history of Israel from its entrance into Canaan* up to the messianic times. There are clear allusions to the Hasmoneans* and Herod.* It was written in the 1st century AD in Hb or Aramaic and is preserved in a Lt version of a lost Gk version. The author was a Pharisee who was opposed to the political activities of his sect. Recent studies have suggested a connection between this book and the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf QUMRAN). Jd 9 quotes a lost portion of this book.

Books of Baruch. 2 Baruch (the Syriac

Apocalypse) is a composite from several authors in which the history of the Jews is foretold from 591 BC to the coming of the Messiah. In answer to Baruch's wonder why the judgment of the nations and the coming of the Messiah are delayed, he learns of the 12 "woes" which precede the coming of the Messiah, the four kingdoms, the 14 "floods" in which history is allegorized, and the necessity of Israel's atonement for its sins. 2 Bar is notable for its conception of a messianic kingdom upon earth before the final consummation and its conception of the resurrection, as well as for its conception of sin expressed in the line, "Each man is the Adam of his own soul." It was written after AD 70 and is preserved in a Syriac version of the Gk version (lost except for fragments) of a lost Hb or Aramaic original.

3 Baruch (the Greek Apocalypse) is the story of Baruch's journey through the seven heavens. It is a Jewish work of the 2nd century AD reworked by Christians and is preserved in Gk.

4 *Esdras*. This book (also called 2 Esdras) answers the question why Israel is afflicted and the messianic age delayed. The visions of Ezra* reveal the signs of the approaching end, the "woes" which precede the messianic coming, the four kingdoms with the fourth kingdom seen under the allegory of an eagle, the Messiah as the son of man coming from the sea. The general resurrection, the final judgment, and the heavenly Jerusalem are described, as well as the state of the soul between death and the judgment. This book also exhibits the conception of a messianic kingdom on earth before the final judgment. The problem of the small number of the saved is discussed. The book concludes with the story of how Ezra for 40 days and nights dictated 94 books by divine inspiration; 24 are the canonical books of the OT, restored after their destruction in the Babylonian wars, and 70 are to be concealed (*apokrypha*) until the proper time. The book survives in several ancient versions of a lost Gk version of a lost Hb original. It was composed by Jews after AD 70 and was popular in the early Church.

3. *Wisdom*:

4 *Maccabees*. A discussion in the manner of the Gk philosophical schools in which it is proved by examples drawn from Hb history, especially the martyrs of 2 Mc, that reason dominates the passions. It was written in Gk by a Jew of Alexandria not earlier than 50 BC.

4. *Psalms*:

Psalms of Solomon. These 13 psalms are written in the form and style of the canonical Psalms*. They illustrate Pharisaic belief and piety and messianic expectation. Allu-

sions to Pompey and Herod and the Hasmonaeans indicate their composition in 50–30 BC. They are preserved in a Gk version of the lost Hb original.

II. New Testament

1. *Gospels*:

A. Infancy Gospels.

Gospel of James, also called *Protoevangelium*. This important work, of little or no historical value, is the source of the names of Joachim* and Anna* as the parents of Mary*, the presentation of Mary in the temple*, the choice of Joseph* as Mary's husband by the blossoming of his wand. It expands the details of the suspicion of Mary's unchastity and the birth of Jesus. It is preserved in Gk and was written not later than the 2nd century AD.

Gospel of Thomas. A story of the boyhood of Jesus filled with extravagant and often repulsive miracles. Doubtless from heretical sources, this book, in the words of Renan, represents the boy Jesus as a vicious little guttersnipe. Of uncertain date, it is preserved in Gk and in a Lt version.

Arabic Gospel of the Infancy. This book depends largely on the apocryphal Gospels of James and Thomas, but adds stories of the flight into Egypt again replete with extravagant miracles, some accomplished by contact with the linen or the bath water of the infant. In this book Jesus meets the two robbers with whom He was crucified. It is a late compilation of earlier stories.

History of Joseph the Carpenter. Fanciful details of the life of Joseph are added to the meager material of the Gospels, in particular his family, the story of the marriage, the flight into Egypt, his death in the presence of Jesus and Mary, and the removal of his soul by the angels. It is of Egyptian origin, not earlier than the 4th century AD, and is preserved in an Arabic version.

B. Passion Gospels.

Gospel of Peter. This is compiled from all four Gospels but casts doubt on the reality of Jesus' sufferings and is therefore Docetist. It was written about AD 150 and is preserved only in a Gk fragment.

Gospel of Nicodemus, or *Acts of Pilate*. This book exists in several recensions, expands the details of the trial of Jesus before Pilate and contains a circumstantial account of the descent into hell and the deliverance of the souls of the just. It was composed in the 4th century AD or later and is preserved partly in Gk and partly in Lt versions.

Gospel of Bartholomew. This book tells of the descent into hell, Mary's account of the annunciation, a vision of hell and the devil's account of his deeds. There is a series of questions addressed to Jesus by Bartholomew and an account of the resurrection of

Jesus. It is preserved in fragments of the original Gk and of Lt versions and is earlier than the 4th century AD.

Book of John the Evangelist. Questions addressed to Jesus and His answers. This heretical fragment attributes the creation of matter and the Jewish law to the devil. It is preserved in a Lt version and goes back to the 6th or 7th century AD.

The Assumption of the Virgin. There are a number of apocryphal accounts of this event preserved in Gk, Lt, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic. The most important is the Gk "discourse of St. John the Divine concerning the falling asleep of the holy mother of God" from about the 7th century AD. In this account the apostles were all brought back upon clouds to witness the death and assumption of Mary.

Other apocryphal Gospels such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews (identified by some of the fathers with the Aramaic Matthew*), the Gospel of Peter, and the birth of Mary, are known only in fragments or by allusions in ancient writers. Of interest are the *agrapha* or unwritten sayings of Jesus not found in the canonical Gospels. Some of these are quoted by ancient Christian writers, and fragments of a collection of these sayings were discovered in Egypt in 1897 and 1903; they come from the 3rd century.

The Gospel of Thomas was discovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945 and was published in 1958. It is a Gnostic collection of sayings of Jesus, some from the canonical Gospels and others clearly exhibiting Gnostic ideas. It is preserved in a Coptic translation of the Gk original and was produced in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

2. Acts:

Acts of John. This conglomeration of miracles teaches the unreality of the body of Jesus and the heresy of the Encratites, who taught that marriage was sinful. John teaches women to abandon their husbands and betrothed. The Gk original and a Lt version are both preserved in part; it was written before AD 150. The story of John cast into the caldron of boiling oil was first mentioned by Tertullian; but no Gk writer knows the story and it is not found in the extant fragments.

Acts of Paul. Preserved only in fragments, mostly Coptic; the principal events are the rescue of Thecla from martyrdom and the martyrdom of Paul. The Encratite heresy also appears here. Tertullian says it was written by a presbyter of Asia about AD 160.

Acts of Peter. This also exhibits Encratite and Docetist (denying the reality of the body of Jesus) tendencies. The episode of Simon Magus* is much expanded. This book contains

the story of Jesus meeting Peter as Peter was fleeing from Rome ("Quo vadis") and of Peter's crucifixion head downward. It was written in Gk in Asia Minor about AD 200 and is preserved in fragments of the Gk and of Lt and Coptic versions.

Acts of Andrew. Like others, a series of miracles proposing Encratite teaching. The crucifixion of Andrew and his discourse from the cross are related. It was written in Gk about AD 200.

Acts of Thomas. The most frankly Encratite of all, this book is a series of episodes in which Thomas persuades wives to leave their husbands. This book places the ministry of Thomas in India and recounts his martyrdom. With the preceding four books it was assembled into a corpus by the Manicheans to replace the canonical book of Acts.

Acts of Philip. A series of fantastic miracles; in the most sensational, Philip by a magical formula opens the earth, which swallows up 7000 people. For this he was rebuked by Jesus and his entrance into paradise postponed 40 days. It is of orthodox origin and was written in Gk before the 5th century.

The number of apocryphal acts was very large, but they are all accounts of extravagant miracles. The *Apostolic History of Abdias* relates the journeys and ministry of the apostles in the countries with which they were traditionally associated. Acts were written under the names of Andrew and Matthias, Peter and Andrew, several of John and of Peter and Paul, and Thaddaeus.

3. Epistles:

Epistle of Abgar. A letter from Abgar, toparch of Edessa, asking Jesus to come and heal him, and the answer of Jesus promising an apostle, who in legend was Thaddaeus. It is preserved in a Gk version of the Syriac original and was written before the 4th century.

Epistle to the Laodiceans. Composed on the basis of Col 4:16, it was compiled of phrases from the canonical Epistles before the 4th century and is preserved in Lt.

Paul and Seneca. 14 short letters between Paul and Seneca in which the Roman philosopher shows sympathy for Christianity. It is preserved in Lt and was written before the 4th century.

Epistle of the Apostles. Written in the name of the 12 apostles, the epistle contains the revelations made by Jesus during the 40 days after His resurrection, concerned largely with the resurrection and the last judgment. It derives some episodes from the apocryphal Gospels. It is generally orthodox and was composed about AD 160; it survives in three ancient versions, of which the Ethiopic is complete.

4. *Apocalypses*:

The best preserved of the apocalypses are those of Peter (2nd century), Paul, and Thomas (both 4th century). They are similar in character, containing exaggerated descriptions of the last judgment, the joys of heaven, and the punishments of hell.

Apollonia (Gk *apollōnia*, "named after Apollo"), a city of NE Macedonia on the Via Egnatia between Amphipolis* and Thessalonica*, which Paul passed through on his journey through Macedonia (AA 17:1).

Apollonius (Gk *apollōnios*, "belonging to [the god] Apollo"). 1. Apollonius of Tarsus (2 Mc 3:5), son of Menestheus (2 Mc 4:4), governor of Coelestria* and Phoenicia* under Seleucus* IV, who informed the king of the treasures of the temple of Jerusalem, which the king sent Heliodorus* to plunder (2 Mc 3:5 ff). It is probably the same officer, not mentioned by name in 1 Mc 1:29, who began the campaign to hellenize the Jews under Antiochus* IV with a raid upon Jerusalem (1 Mc 1:29 ff; cf 2 Mc 4:24 ff). He was killed in battle by Judas* in 166 BC. 2. The son of Gennaëus, a commander of Antiochus V, who raided the Jews near Joppa* and Jamnia* (2 Mc 12:2). 3. Governor of Coelestria under Demetrius* II, defeated in battle by Jonathan* and Simon* (1 Mc 10:69 ff).

Apollos (Gk *apollōs*, probably abbreviated from Apollonius [some suggest Apollodorus or Apollonides]); a Jew of Alexandria*, learned in rhetoric and the Scriptures, possibly a student of Philo. He preached Jesus as the Messiah, although he was still a disciple of John* the Baptist; but Priscilla* and Aquila* met him at Ephesus* and gave him full instruction in "the Way." He then passed to Corinth* and taught the Jews from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah (AA 18:24 ff). The disciples of John whom Paul found shortly afterwards at Ephesus may have been converts of Apollos. Apollos' preaching at Corinth was successful; Paul speaks of him as watering what he had himself planted (1 Co 3:6). Unfortunately one of the cliques at Corinth had formed itself under the name of Apollos (others under Paul and Cephas; cf CORINTHIANS), and Paul found it necessary to break these up to preserve the unity of the church (1 Co 1:10 ff; 3:3 ff; 4:6 ff). Apollos, either voluntarily or at Paul's request, had left Corinth and did not wish to return; no suspicion attaches to him about the cliques. Paul later requested Titus* at Crete* to forward Apollos on his journey.

Apollyon. Cf ABADDON.

Apostle (Gk *apostolos*, from *apostellein*, "to send forth"). Most instances of the word in classical Gk refer to a ship or a fleet, either freighters or vessels of a naval expedition. The adjective is used to designate an ambassador, delegate, or messenger, but such uses are rare; the NT uses the word in this sense twice (Jn 13:16; Phl 2:25). A similar use transferred to a religious sense seems to lie behind 2 Co 8:23, where the apostles mentioned are not apostles in the technical sense (cf below), but missionaries or messengers sent by particular churches. The apostles mentioned with the prophets (Lk 11:49; Eph 3:5; Apc 2:2; 18:20) are messengers of God, not really distinguished from the prophets, unless these passages echo the Jewish conception of Moses*, Elijah*, and Ezekiel* (cf below). Jesus Himself is called an apostle (Heb 3:1), the only use of the word in this letter, as one sent from God. In the NT the word designates a small group who hold the highest position in the Church and are charged with its most responsible functions; but a closer definition of the term discloses some problems which do not admit a peremptory answer.

No clear background of the NT concept and term appears either in Gk or in Judaism. In the Cynic-Stoic school of philosophy the philosopher sometimes conceived himself as a messenger of Zeus, but the term remains vague. In Judaism, however, men who were "sent" on missions by a central authority do appear with the Hb title *šālîḥ*, *šālîḥ*. 2 Ch 17:7-9 describes men who were sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the book of the law*; the Chronicler here retrojects an institution which must have existed in his own time. The title is also given to rabbis who were sent from the council of Jerusalem to the Jews of the Diaspora* to proclaim the calendar, to collect donations, to make visitations of local communities, to install teachers, and to maintain communications between the Diaspora and Palestine. Most of these are attested for the period after AD 70 and thus can have no influence on the NT conception of apostle. One who prays in the name of the synagogue congregation is also called "sent." The emissaries of the council were designated by the imposition of hands. Jewish missionaries proper, however, who are sent to make proselytes (Mt 23:15) are never called "sent." Of the spiritual leaders of the OT four in particular are given the title of "sent": Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel. The basis of this designation is the attribution to them of thaumaturgical powers otherwise reserved to God: the procuring of water and rain, power over birth, the resurrection of the dead. The prophets are not called "sent" in Judaism.

Hence in just those offices and functions which bear some resemblance to NT apostleship the title is not used, and it is used where no more than a slight similarity can be perceived.

The name of apostle certainly belongs to the group of disciples most frequently called the Twelve, enumerated in Mt 10:2-4; Mk 3:16-19; Lk 6:13-16; AA 1:13. This group forms a college; it is called the Eleven during the interval between the death of Judas and the election of Matthias* (Mt 28:16; Mk 16:14; Lk 24:9, 33; AA 1:26). The number 12 is evidently a sacred number which needs completion by the election of Matthias. The number seems to echo the 12 tribes of Israel which the Twelve will judge (Mt 19:28; Lk 22:30); the apostles are the foundations of the New Israel of the Church. But no replacement is mentioned after the death of James* the son of Zebedee (AA 12:2); the Twelve was not considered a perpetual institution, since the conditions of membership (cf below) could not be met except by the first generation of Palestinian Christians. The Twelve are in the first place disciples; but they are chosen by Jesus to be His constant companions, and they are submitted to a full instruction in the truths which He proclaims. The name apostles is given them several times, either explicitly or in contexts where it is clear that they are meant (Mt 10:2; Lk 6:13; 9:10; 17:5; 22:14; AA 1:26; 5:29; 15:2, 4, 6, 22 f; 16:4; Apc 21:14+). It is evident that the designation of apostles for the Twelve is preferred by Lk, whereas it is found only once in Mk (6:30) and in Mt (10:2); this suggests that the title was not a primitive designation in the Church. It is not found at all in the ecclesiastical sense in Jn. A number of scholars consequently doubts that the title goes back to Jesus Himself, although they do not question His election of the Twelve; they believe that it was conferred by the primitive Church. Others find this rarity in the Synoptic Gospels not convincing and believe that the title originated with Jesus. R. Rengstorff compromises by supposing that the title is used only in the Gospels when the Twelve are sent on a particular mission and that it does not become a title, still less an office, in the Gospels.

The Twelve are chosen by Jesus (AA 1:2+). They teach and preside over the fellowship of the primitive community (AA 2:42 f). They are witnesses to the resurrection (AA 4:33). They preside over the distribution of goods in the community (AA 4:34-37; 5:2). They speak in the name of Jesus (AA 5:40) and perform signs and wonders in His name (AA 5:12). Their

is the ministry of the word (AA 6:2). They impose hands on the Seven (cf DEACON) to authorize them to care for the distribution of goods (AA 6:6). They become identified with Jerusalem as their residence (AA 8:1, 14, 18; 9:27; 11:1), even after the Jerusalem community was scattered by persecution. With the elders of the Jerusalem church they form the supreme legislative body of the Church (AA 15:2, 4, 6, 22 f; 16:4). The twelve foundation stones of the new Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve apostles (Apc 21:14). He who is elected to replace Judas in the Twelve must have been a member of the company from the baptism of John to the ascension of Jesus and a witness of His resurrection (AA 1:15-26). It is evident that each of the original Twelve was chosen personally by Jesus; a condition was personal knowledge of the Incarnate Word. Their first commission empowered them to expel unclean spirits, heal diseases, and announce the kingdom (Mt 10:1; Mk 3:13-15; 6:7; Lk 9:1). They are selected from the general group of disciples to share in His work. The constitution of the college of the Twelve to carry on and continue the work of Jesus is done by the Risen Christ; they are to preach repentance (Lk 24:44-49), to make disciples and baptize (Mt 28:16-20). While the title does not appear in Jn, the commission does; Jesus confers the Holy Spirit and power upon the Twelve (Jn 20:21). The mission of the Twelve is rendered operative by the gift of the Spirit after the ascension of Jesus in Lk 24:49; AA 1:8; 2.

The peculiar position of the Twelve in the primitive Church is thus clear; but it is not equally clear that this is synonymous with their position as apostles. The singular "apostle" appears first in the Pauline writings. It is of course applied to Peter (1 Pt 1:1; 2 Pt 1:1) and James (Gal 1:19). But it is also given to Barnabas* (AA 14:14) and to the otherwise unknown Andronicus and Junias (Rm 16:7). The apostles are also mentioned several times in contexts where it is not clear that the Twelve are meant exclusively (1 Co 4:9-13; 9:5; 15:7; 2 Pt 3:2; Jd 17). Paul includes apostleship among the charismatic offices of the Church (1 Co 12:28 f). The prophets and apostles are the foundation of the Church (Eph 2:20). The identity of the "superapostles" at whom Paul scoffs is not clear (2 Co 12:11). They are apparently the "pseudo-apostles" of 2 Co 11:13 and therefore not entitled to the name; but if the name were limited to the Twelve, there could scarcely be any possibility of men who seem to have been in good standing claiming the title. Furthermore, Lk 10:1-20 contains an account of the mis-

sion of the Seventy which does not differ in its powers and scope from the mission of the Twelve as he reports it (9:2-5); the title apostle is not given to the Seventy, but the parallelism of the missions is striking. It appears that in at least some parts of the early Church the title of apostle was extended to others besides the Twelve; but Luke of all the NT writers most clearly limits the title to the Twelve and Paul. It is somewhat remarkable that the title is never given to Apollos* and Timothy*; this can only be, it seems, because each of them lacked the prime requisite of the apostle, personal experience of the living Jesus.

Paul is insistent upon his claim to the apostolate and explicit upon the qualifications and mission of the apostle. While his first mission was committed to him by the church of Antioch* (AA 13:2), Paul never appeals to this commission; the commission of the Church did not make one an apostle. While Paul never says it expressly, the tone of his utterances indicates that he claimed to be an apostle equal to the Twelve. The claim of itself was not enough; the account given in Gal 1-2 demonstrates that the Twelve accepted his claim. His claim is based upon the qualities of the Twelve: personal election by Jesus and personal experience of the living Jesus, even though Paul knew only the risen Jesus. His conviction of his apostolate rises from the Damascus experience (Gal 1:16), given in three forms. Each form emphasizes his election: he is a chosen instrument to carry the name of Jesus before Gentiles, kings, and Israelites (AA 9:15); he is witness for Jesus to all men (AA 22:15); he is appointed to serve and bear witness, to open men's eyes that they may turn from darkness to light and receive forgiveness of sins and holiness through faith (AA 26:16-18). Jesus has appeared to Paul as He has to the Twelve (1 Co 15:8). They were apostles "before him," but he also is an apostle (Gal 1:17). Paul, like Jeremiah, was set apart before his birth and called through grace (Gal 1:15). He is called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel (Rm 1:1), called by the will of God to be an apostle (1 Co 1:1; 2 Co 1:1; Eph 1:1; Col 1:1; 2 Tm 1:1), an apostle not from man or through man but through Jesus Christ and God the Father (Gal 1:1), an apostle by command of God and Jesus Christ (1 Tm 1:1), appointed preacher and apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles (1 Tm 2:7). As Peter has received the apostolate to the Jews, so Paul has received the apostolate to the Gentiles (AA 9:15; 22:15; Rm 11:13; Gal 2:8), and he has received it from Jesus Christ (Rm 1:5). It is to be noted that

Paul associates his call not only with Jesus but also with the Father.

Paul realizes that the apostolate is a charismatic office, the work of grace and not of man (1 Co 15:10). He preaches Jesus as Lord in virtue of the illumination from God which reveals the knowledge of the glory of Christ (2 Co 4:5 f). Paul has the power of thaumaturgy, the sign of the true apostle (AA 15:12; 2 Co 12:12). But the seal of his apostolate is the church which he has founded (1 Co 9:2). The apostles are slaves of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God (1 Co 4:1). He preaches the word of the cross (1 Co 1:18), which is the word of reconciliation (2 Co 5:19). The apostles are ambassadors of Christ (2 Co 5:20) and fellow workers with God (1 Co 3:9; 2 Co 6:1). The apostle delivers what he has received from Jesus (1 Co 11:23; 15:1 ff).

R. Bultmann has summed up the apostolic function thus: the apostle proclaims the risen Lord; he is the bearer of tradition*; he holds an office which pertains to the whole Church; he appoints other officers (but not other apostles); he is the basic constitutive element of the Church. The texts cited above illustrate the points of this summary. The authority of the apostles is most clearly seen in the acts of the Twelve in Jerusalem and in Paul's government of the churches which he founded; these always remained his responsibility, and his power of decision was questioned only at Corinth, where it was vindicated.

The qualities of the apostolic office cited above are themselves evidence that the office could not survive the first generation of the Church. But the apostolic office as the constitutive element of the Church could not end without the Church itself ending also. Hence the Church preserved apostolic power in other officers and apostolic preaching in tradition.

Apphia (Gk *apphia*), a woman mentioned in the address of the letter to Philemon*, probably the wife of Philemon (Phm 2).

Appius, Forum of or Market of. A town on the Appian Way from Rome to Capua where Paul was met by Christians from Rome on his journey thither as a prisoner (AA 28:15).

Apple (Hb *tappû'h* is usually translated "apple" [Pr 25:11; SS 2:3, 5; 7:9; 8:5; Jl 1:12]). It is not certain that the apple was cultivated in ancient Palestine; apricot, citron, lemon, and orange have been suggested as alternate translations. The identification of the fruit of Paradise* as the apple is without foundation.

Aquila (*akylas*, Gk form of Lt *aquila*, "eagle"?). A Jew, a native of Pontus*, who with his wife Priscilla* came to Corinth* when Claudius* expelled the Jews from Rome. There Paul* met them and resided with them since he practiced their trade of tentmaking. They accompanied Paul to Ephesus* where they instructed Apollos* in Christianity (AA 18). They were still in Ephesus when Paul sent their greetings to Corinth (1 Co 16:19), and again later when Paul greeted them from Rome (2 Tm 4:19). In the meantime they had returned to Rome, where Paul sent them greetings from Corinth, thanking them for risking their lives to save his, an episode not elsewhere mentioned (Rm 16:3 f). The repeated greetings such as this show Paul's attachment to these his "fellow workers in Christ Jesus" (Rm 15:3), who were probably his first converts at Corinth.

Ar (Hb *'ār*, meaning unknown), usually Ar Moab, a city of Moab* (Nm 21:15, fragment of an ancient song; Dt 2:9, 29). Another ancient song refers to its devastation (Nm 21:28); Is 15:1 refers to another and later devastation. Dt 2:18 places it at the boundary of Moab. The site is not certain; Khirbet Rabbah, on the Moabite plateau about 3 mi S of the Arnon* and 25 mi N of Kerak, is suggested. Some scholars think the word in Dt 2:9, 18, 29 means district, not city.

Arabah (Hb *"rābāh*, "arid"), as a common noun denotes a desert; with the article it often becomes a geographical term designating "the desert" nearest central Palestine, the Jordan valley (Dt 1:7; 2:8; 3:17; Jos 11:2, 16, 12:8; 18:18; 2 S 2:29; 4:7; 2 K 25:4; Je 39:4; 52:7; Ezk 47:8; Zc 14:10). In Dt 2:8 it seems clear that the term includes the modern Wadi Arabah, the name of the continuation of the rift from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba*, which is a more arid region than the Jordan valley; and the term possibly always has this fuller meaning in Hb. Cf JORDAN.

Arabia, Arab. The great peninsula of Arabia is regarded by many ethnologists as the motherland of all the Semitic peoples, which have emerged in almost regular irruptions to settle in the surrounding area of the Fertile Crescent. Whether this theory is rigorously valid, it is true that such irruptions have occurred often in the historical period, and that the Semitic peoples of biblical lands and history belong racially, culturally, and linguistically to the same group with the Arabs. The central desert of Arabia extends in a wedge northward and separates Mesopotamia* from Canaan*, and the Negeb* of Palestine*

touches Arabia. It was this fringe which was known in the OT, although not under a single name. The name Arab (Hb *"rāb*) is used to designate a nomad (Is 13:20) and a bandit (Je 3:2) and generally signifies the tribes of the Syrian desert and south of the Negeb (2 Ch 17:11; 21:16; 22:1; 26:7; Ezr 27:21; Is 21:13; Je 25:24). These tribes are also called "Sons of the east" (Hb *b'nē Kēdem*; Gn 29:1; Jgs 6:3; 1 K 5:10 +). Ch alludes to the raids of the Arabs on the settlements (2 Ch 21:16; 22:1; 26:7). The Assyrian records of the 8th and 7th centuries BC relate campaigns against the Arab tribes of the desert and tribute received from them, but it is doubtful that these campaigns were effective very far from the desert border. Arabia was important commercially and exported minerals and spices, its chief products, through Palestine to the ports of Phoenicia*; Solomon* had commercial relations with Arabia (1 K 10:15; 2 Ch 9:14). The OT as a rule knows Arabian tribes by their own names rather than by the general designation of Arab; the 13 sons of Joktan* (Gn 10:26 ff), the 6 sons of Keturah* (Gn 25:1 ff), and the 12 sons of Ishmael* (Gn 25:12 ff) are Arabian tribes, and the genealogy recognizes the kinship between them and the Hebrews. Arabia is mentioned in the NT only in Gal 1:17; 4:25. As the place of Paul's pilgrimage it probably signifies the Syrian desert and the territory S of the Negeb, and it is impossible to define Paul's destination more closely; the vagueness of the term appears in the second allusion, which places Mt Sinai* in Arabia. On the more important Arabian tribes connected with the Bible cf DEDAN; HAVILAH; HAZARMAVETH; KEDAR; MIDIAN; NABATEANS; OPHIR; SHEBA; TEMAN.

Arad (Hb *"rād*, meaning uncertain); a Canaanite* city whose king attacked the Israelites on their march to Canaan (Nm 21:1 ff). The sack of the city there mentioned occurred later and is attributed to Joshua* (Jos 12:14). The site of the city is Tell Arad, 16½ mi S of Hebron, where the ruins of a Bronze Age fortress can be discerned.

Aram, Aramaeans (Hb *"rām*). The Aramaeans are first mentioned in the records of the Assyrian* king Tiglath-pileser I (1112-1074 bc); they are thought by many scholars to be identical with the Ahlamu mentioned in earlier records, or to be a part of the Ahlamu. Ahlamu is very probably an appellative, "nomads." They first appear as a nomadic tribe of the Syrian desert which attacks the settled country and finally settles there. During the weakness of Assyria in the

12th–11th centuries BC the Aramaeans settled in northern Syria* and in southern Babylonia, where they merged with the Chaldeans*. The Aramaeans developed a group of strong commercial city-states in Syria which prospered until the Assyrian conquests of the 9th–8th centuries BC, when they were absorbed into the Assyrian empire. The Aramaeans were not culturally creative but they were a focus of the mixture and diffusion of cultures. The religion of the Aramaeans is not well known, since the literature from the early period is limited to a few inscriptions; the names of the gods mentioned there reveal a syncretism of Canaanite and Mesopotamian deities. We find Baal* under various titles, Hadad*, the storm god, Shamash, a Mesopotamian solar god, Tammuz*, a dying and rising god of fertility whose cult was extremely popular, and Rekub-el, Sahr (solar god), Nikkal (lunar goddess), and Nusk (fire god). Sahr and Nikkal are found in Ugarit. The god Bethel (cf ELEPHANTINE) is probably Aramaic.

Israel's relations with the Aramaeans were close and ancient. In the traditions of Israel's mixed origins Aramaeans appear among their ancestors. In the table of nations* Aram is a son of Shem (Gn 10:22). According to Am 9:7 they came from Kir*, not certainly identified. Nahor*, the brother of Abraham, lived in Aram Naharaim (Gn 24:10). The name Naharina in Egyptian (Nahrina in the Amarna tablets) designates the territory of northern Syria and the upper Euphrates centered around Carchemish and Harran which became Aramaean after the 12th century BC. To this name the Hebrews prefixed Aram as they did to the names of other Aramaean states. Balaam* was summoned from Aram Naharaim (Nm 23:7; Dt 23:5 cf PETHOR). This region is called Paddan* Aram in another tradition. Jacob is once called "an Aramaean vagabond" (Dt 26:5) and Laban* is called an Aramaean (Gn 25:20; 28:5; 31:20, 24). Cushan-rishathaim is called king of Aram Naharaim, but cf CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM. The presence of Aramaean nomads in the region where they later settled is assured for the period of the patriarchs. During the monarchy the Israelites, in spite of almost constant wars, were commercially and culturally in close touch with the Aramaean states of Syria; cf BETH-REHOB; DAMASCUS; GESHUR; MAACAH; ZOBAB. The final collapse of the Syrian states before Assyria in the 8th century BC opened the way for the conquest of Israel.

Aramaic. The language of the Aramaeans* and possibly of the Hebrews before their settlement in Canaan*. In any case, the

Aramaeans did not themselves adopt Canaanite but retained their own tongue. It is classified as a northwest Semitic language. The wide diffusion of the Aramaeans and their commercial activities carried the language through the entire area of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia; but the language reached its greatest diffusion after the Aramaean states ceased to have any political importance. Its use as an international diplomatic language is seen in 2 K 18:26, where it is known by the Assyrian and Hebrew officers but not by the people. Its use had become common by the period of the Neo-Babylonian empire and after the 6th century BC it became the Semitic language most commonly used. Its alphabetical script, borrowed from the Canaanites, made it a much simpler medium of written communications than Akkadian*. It was the common language of the peoples of the Persian* empire and the official language of the imperial government. It enjoyed this general use until the spread of Hellenism*; but even after Gk became the language of literary culture, politics, and commerce, Aramaic remained the language of the common people until it was replaced by Arabic after the Mohammedan conquests of the 7th century AD and later. Except for inscriptions there is no literature earlier than the 5th century, but after this point the remains are extensive. The papyri from the Jewish colony of Elephantine* in Egypt in the 5th century are Aramaic. In the OT Ezr 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26; Je 10:11; Dn 2:4–7:28 are in Aramaic, and the Aramaic documents of the Persian foreign office quoted in Ezr are now generally thought to be authentic. During these centuries the Jews, especially those living outside Palestine, found it necessary to make Aramaic versions of the OT called Targums*. Aramaic is the language of the Talmud*. It was the common language of Palestine in NT times used by Jesus, with different dialects (Mt 26:73). It was on the title of the cross (Jn 19:20, called "Hebrew") and Jesus quoted Ps 22:2 in Aramaic from the cross. The composition of the Gospels* in Aramaic, except for Mt*, is defended by few scholars; but the oral sources of the Gospel tradition were largely, if not entirely, Aramaic. The wide diffusion of Aramaic led to the development of several dialects.

1. Eastern Aramaic:

- (a) Babylonian Aramaic (the Babylonian Talmud);
- (b) dialect of the Mandaeen and Manichean literature;
- (c) Syriac, developed from the dialect of Edessa into several dialects of its own with an extensive Christian literature.

2. Western Aramaic:

- (a) Jewish Aramaic (the Targums);
- (b) Palestinian Aramaic (Jerusalem Talmud), the language used by Jesus, but no literary remains until several centuries later
- (c) Samaritan
- (d) Palmyrene (inscriptions)
- (e) Nabataean (inscriptions)

Ararat (Hb *'arāraṭ*, meaning uncertain), the region in which the ark of Noah* settled after the deluge* (Gn 8:4) and to which the sons of Sennacherib* fled after his murder (2 K 19:37; Is 37:38), mentioned in Je 51:27. It is identical with Urartu, mentioned often in the Assyrian records of the 9th–7th centuries BC as a persistent adversary which the Assyrians were never able to subjugate effectively. Urartu was located in the mountains of Armenia around Lake Van.

Aratus (Gk *aratos*, meaning uncertain), a poet of Soloi (310–245 bc) who resided at the courts of Antigonos in Macedonia and Seleucus in Antioch. His astronomical poem *Phaenomena* is quoted by Paul in his discourse at Athens (AA 17:28).

Araunah (Hb *'arawnāh*, the name may be Hittite), a Jebusite* citizen of Jerusalem*. During the plague David* saw the angel of Yahweh at the threshing floor of Araunah and purchased the land for an altar. This was the site where Solomon* built the temple* (2 S 24:16 ff). In 1 Ch 21:15 ff the name appears as Ornan.

Archaeology. From Gk *archaios* + *logos*, the "science of antiquities". Archaeology is a subsience of history, but only within the last century has it become a formal science with its own objective and methods. Before the 19th century the study of antiquities, as opposed to the study of written records, which is history in the rigorous sense, was limited to the examination of those artifacts which could be found on the surface of the ground. Closer examination of the sites of ancient habitation revealed that most of the remains lay under the surface of the soil, and digging disclosed that they reached a far greater depth than had been suspected. As more of these ancient remains were found, archaeological evidence as a supplement to the monumental or written source was seen to be indispensable for the study of the past; it contributes knowledge which no written document contains. In the interpretation of archaeological remains the written document is indispensable; but modern techniques have made it possible to construct a remarkably

illuminating picture of the past from archaeological remains alone.

Modern archaeology is the exploration of sites of human habitation by excavation and the interpretation of the findings. There are few areas in the world which have not been so explored; for the Bible the areas of interest are Palestine and Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Greece. The technique of excavation has been developed from the very nature of the Palestinian and Mesopotamian site. The Palestinian site was chosen for the availability of ground water and some elevation which made the site more defensible; in the alluvial plain of Mesopotamia neither of these factors was decisive. In each area the ancient site now appears as an extensive mound (Arabic *tell*) formed by the deposit of debris through centuries of occupation. The archaeologist selects his site, which may be identified through the persistence of the ancient name or through geographical data in ancient sources, and first clears and surveys it. The area of excavation is rarely the entire mound, for this would be very expensive; and modern archaeologists prefer to leave some material for future work. The area selected is carefully dug, measured, and photographed, and the dirt is sifted for artifacts, which are classified according to the place of discovery. Excavation discloses the levels of occupation, more clearly defined if one level was ended by destruction or followed by a long period of nonoccupation. Recording of each level is essential, since the upper level must be destroyed to reach the lower. Distinct levels in a site long occupied may be as many as 16, but the archaeologist tries to reach virgin soil or bedrock. The levels are dated by their contents. Types of building material and construction, weapons and tools, and such objects exhibit the style of their period, which is determined by amassing material sufficient for classification. Presence of foreign objects indicates commercial and other relations. If coins or written records are discovered, they date the site themselves; this is rare in Palestinian lower levels, and the most important object for dating is pottery*, which is always found in abundance, and has long been classified into different periods according to its style and texture. The entire results of the exploration are published: account of the exploration, description and photographs of the site in the various levels of excavation and of all objects discovered. Only then are evaluation and interpretation possible.

Palestinian archaeology begins with the American Edward Robinson, who in 1838 began his explorations to identify ancient sites. The Palestinian Exploration Fund,

founded in Great Britain in 1865, produced the Palestine Ordnance survey map, the first detailed and accurate map of the country, based on a thorough survey of the country, printed on the scale of one in/one mi. Early excavations up to 1900 suffered from a lack of technique and of comparative material; the Englishman Flinders Petrie and the American F. J. Bliss established the pottery index of chronology in 1894, which was a revolution in the field. After 1900 a number of important excavations were done; these are noticed in the separate articles. World War I (1914–1918) interrupted archaeology, but the period 1919–1939 was the most fruitful period of modern study, dominated by the American W. F. Albright. The most recent archaeological events, both of profound interest, have been the discovery (1947) of the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf QUMRAN) and the exploration of Jericho* by Kathleen Kenyon (1952–1957).

Exploration in Mesopotamia began with the work of the Frenchman Botta at Khorsabad in 1843 and the Englishman Layard at Nineveh in 1845 and has been pursued without interruption except for the two world wars. Mesopotamia, the seat of a much older and more highly developed civilization than that of the Hebrews, drew interest because of its artistic remains, which were very attractive to the great museums; Palestine has never yielded any such treasures. Unfortunately the explorations down to the 20th century were conducted with the objective of securing museum pieces without photography and stratigraphic description, as explained above. Few Mesopotamian sites of importance have not been explored; cf separate articles. Egyptian archaeology developed at the same time.

The results of archaeological exploration cannot be summed up, but the following examples will show its value. Mesopotamian archaeology itself furnished the written documents for the history of this area, which before 1850 was unknown except for scattered allusions in the Bible and a few Greek authors. The library of Ashur-bani-pal revealed a vast collection of religious and secular literature which not only gave unique information on Mesopotamian history and religion, but also the materials for the study of Akkadian* and the hitherto unknown language and civilization of the Sumerians*. Archaeology has discovered and interpreted the legal code of Hammurabi*, the records of the Assyrian kings who conquered Judah and Israel, the Babylonian accounts of creation and the deluge, the names and characters of Mesopotamian gods, the palaces and temples of Nineveh, Babylon and other cities, Assyrian and Babylonian art, hundreds of

hymns and prayers. Mari and Nuzu have disclosed the world of the patriarchs. In Egypt there was recovered a vast literature which showed the influence of Egypt on Canaan and the Hebrews. Of special importance were the Amarna* Letters and the fragments of Egyptian wisdom literature, on which OT wisdom* depended largely for form and content. Egyptian art, like Mesopotamian art, enables us to reconstruct the daily life and occupations of ancient times. Many biblical place names appear in Egyptian lists. The chronology* of the OT has been established from Mesopotamian and Egyptian records. In Palestine there have been no comparable discoveries of written materials; but the Mesha* stone, the Siloam* inscription and the Lachish* Letters have been of primary importance. Archaeology has brought forth the palaces of Saul* and Ahab* and the stables at Megiddo*, at first attributed to Solomon*, more recently by Yigael Yadin to Ahab*. It has given abundant evidence of the Hebrew conquest of Canaanite cities. It has found Solomon's copper mining and smelting plants. It has made known the character of the ancient Hebrew city and house, its fortifications, weapons and jewelry, seals, manufactures, even the amulets and figurines of popular superstition. Ugarit* has yielded the only extensive Canaanite literary remains, and has enabled us to reconstruct Canaanite religion, the chief adversary of the Hebrew faith during its early centuries. There is scarcely a page of the Bible which has not been illuminated by archaeology, which supplies both the broad historical background of the ancient world into which the Hebrews can be placed and the real and concrete details of life and work in that world. In addition, although it is not of strictly biblical interest, Palestine has become one of the most important areas for the study of prehistoric man.

Archaeological periods (Albright)

Prehistoric
Chalcolithic 4500–3200 B.C.
Early Bronze I 3200–2900
Early Bronze II 2900–2700
Early Bronze III 2700–2300
Early Bronze IV 2300–2100
Middle Bronze I 2100–1900
Middle Bronze II 1900–1600
Late Bronze I 1600–1400
Late Bronze II 1400–1200
Iron I 1200–900
Iron II 900–600
Iron III 600–330

Archangel (Gk *archangelos*, “chief angel”), the word occurs in the Bible only in Jd 9 (Michael*, quotation from *Assumption of Moses*) and in 1 Th 4:16; an archangel will announce the Parousia*. Cf ANGEL.

Archelaus (Gk *archelaos*, "ruler of the people"), son of Herod* the Great and Malthake, ruler of Judaea 4 BC–AD 6 (Mt 2:22). Herod's last will and testament had divided his kingdom between Archelaus, Antipas*, Philip*, and Salome*. Shortly after Herod's death the Jews in Jerusalem rioted at the Passover because Archelaus refused a petition for redress of grievances, and the riot was suppressed with the loss of many lives. When Archelaus went to Rome to have Herod's will confirmed, a delegation of Jews also went to petition that his territory be put directly under the Roman governor of Syria. Augustus did not grant the petition, but withheld the title of king from Archelaus and gave him only the title of ethnarch. Archelaus had his father's cruelty but not his competence, and riots and disorders prevailed during his government; when in addition he was suspected of disloyalty, he was deposed and banished to Vienne in Gaul. He died in AD 18. After his deposition Judea was administered by a Roman procurator under the governor of Syria.

Areopagus, Areopagite (Gk *areios pagos*, "hill of Ares [English "Mars Hill"]"), a hill NW of the Acropolis in Athens*. Before the 5th century BC this was the meeting place of the supreme council and the supreme court of Athens, and the name remained with the council even after its deliberations were transferred elsewhere. When Paul was taken to the Areopagus (AA 17:19 ff) it is not clear whether he was taken before the council or to the place by that name in order that his discourse might be better heard. In any case the Areopagus in Paul's time was little more than an academic body. The discourse given was not in Paul's usual style but was an effort to speak in the manner of Gk philosophers; it was a failure, although Dionysius*, a member of the Areopagus, accepted Christianity.

Aretas (Arabic *ḥarita*), the name of four Nabataean* kings. Two are mentioned in the Bible. 1. Aretas I; Jason* fled to Aretas but was expelled to Egypt (2 Mc 5:8). 2. Aretas IV (AD 9–40), whose governor administered Damascus* when Paul escaped over the walls in a basket (2 Co 11:32 f; cf AA 9:23 ff). His daughter was the first wife of Herod Antipas*, who repudiated her for Herodias*, and she fled to Petra*. Not long after her father opened war with Antipas and defeated him; Antipas was rescued only by Roman legions. Aretas came into imperial favor with the accession of Caligula (37–41), and probably received Damascus from him.

Argob (Hb *'argōb*), a region of Bashan* or possibly an alternate name for Bashan (Dt 3:4, 13 f). It was included in Solomon's 6th district (1 K 4:13). Argob in 2 K 15:25 has probably been detached from its proper place in 2 K 15:29, the list of the regions conquered and made into an Assyrian province by Tiglath-pileser* III in 734 BC.

Ariel (Hb *'arī'el*, meaning uncertain; "lion of El"? "hearth of El [altar]"?), probably identical with *hār'el* (Ezk 43:15), which is certainly an altar (*'arī'el* 43:15–16). It is a symbolic name of Jerusalem* in Is 29:1, 2, 7, possibly signifying the place of sacrifice in Jerusalem. The word in 2 S 23:20 is obscure; some scholars understand the word as "hero" here and in Is 33:7. 2 S 23:20 may be a dittography of 2 S 23:21 (*'aryeh*, "lion"). The word occurs in the Mesha* stone, where it is most probably interpreted with Albright as a proper name.

Arioch (Hb *'aryōk*). 1. King of Ellasar*, one of the four kings of Gn 14:1. The name has been found in the Mari* texts (*arriwuk*), but Arioch cannot be identified with any known historical ruler. Cf ABRAHAM; AMRAPHEL. 2. Captain of the royal guard of Nebuchadnezzar* (Dn 2:14 ff).

Aristarchus (Gk *aristarchos*, "excellent ruler"), a Macedonian from Thessalonica, a companion of Paul during the disturbance at Ephesus and on his third missionary journey (AA 19:29; 20:4) and on his voyage to Rome as prisoner (AA 27:2). He also shared Paul's imprisonment (Col 4:10; Phm 24).

Arimathaea. Cf RAMAH.

Aristobulus (Gk *aristobulos*, "excellent counselor"), a Christian of Rome greeted by Paul, apparently the head of a household (Rm 16:10).

Ark. Traditional English rendering of Hb *tēbāh*, the vessel in which Noah* and his family escaped the deluge* (Gn 6:14 ff); the word designates a chest or box. As described in Gn 6:14 ff, the ark was to be made of *gōper* (?) wood caulked with pitch, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, 30 cubits high (about 450 ft, 75 ft, 45 ft respectively). It was to be built in three stories or decks with "nests" (cabins or cells?), with a roof and a door in the side. The ark of Utnapishtim in the Babylonian flood (cf DELUGE) had an acre of floor space and was built in a cube ten doz cubits (180 ft) on a side. It had seven decks and nine divisions (?) in the floor plan. It was caulked with pitch and

had punting poles for steering. In each of these stories there is described a house of palatial dimensions, not a ship; the Babylonian ark is called "like the Apsu," the subterranean palace of the god Ea. We cannot trace the symbolism suggested here any further, but symbolism is very probable; in Mesopotamia men knew how to build a boat for river travel, knowledge which the Israelites lacked. The shape and dimensions in the two stories are similar enough to indicate that the ark of Noah is described after that of Utnapishtim, although the dimensions have been altered and the symbolism, if it is present, forgotten. In neither case is such a fantastic vessel apt even for a house boat. The ark, as a means of salvation through water, is a type of baptism in 1 Pt 3:20 f. The word *tēbāh* occurs elsewhere only in Ex 2:3 for the basket or chest of papyrus* in which Moses* was placed in the Nile* by his sister.

Ark of the Covenant (Hb *ʾarōn habbeʾrīt*), also called "ark of the testimony" (P), ark of the covenant* of Yahweh, ark of Yahweh, ark of elohim, ark of the elohim of Israel (both 1 S); a small portable box or chest. The name is given to the sarcophagus of Joseph (Gn 50:26). As described in Ex 25:10 ff, it was made of acacia wood overlaid with gold inside and out, 2½ cubits by 1½ cubits by 1½ cubits (about 3 ft 9 in and 2 ft 3 in respectively). On top of the ark was a gold plate, Hb *kappōret*, English "mercy seat" or "propitiatory." The Hb word probably means the place of atonement, i.e., the place where Yahweh receives atonement. On top of the ark also were two cherubim* facing each other, so constructed that their wings overshadowed the *kappōret*. This is the place where Yahweh meets Israel and reveals His commandments (Ex 25:22). While this description of the priestly source is probably later by centuries than the building of the ark, it should be regarded as a substantially accurate reconstruction. The ark contained the two tablets of stone which were thought to go back to the Mosaic period (1 K 8:9); in Heb 9:4 the author repeats an unhistorical rabbinical tradition which added a vessel of manna* and the rod of Aaron*.

The ark was carried at the head of the column when the Hebrews traveled through the desert (Nm 10:33 ff) and before the army in battle; it was notable that they did not have the ark when they were defeated by the Canaanites* (Nm 14:44). It was carried across the Jordan* first (Jos 3:3 ff) and carried around Jericho* seven days in succession (Jos 6:11 ff). It was also a place where oracles* were asked (Jgs 20:27).

After the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan the ark was finally established at Shiloh* (1 S 3:3 f); it was taken into battle against the Philistines, who defeated Israel and captured the ark (1 S 4:10-11). The Philistines, however, found it a hostile trophy; an earthquake overturned the image of Dagon at Ashdod (1 S 5:3) and plague broke out in Ashdod, Gath*, and Ekron*, to which cities the ark was carried (1 S 5:6 ff). The Philistines then put it in a cart and gave the oxen their heads, and the oxen carried it back to the Israelites at Bethshemesh (1 S 6:1 ff). But the plague also broke out at Bethshemesh and the ark was lodged in the house of Abinadab* at Kirjath-jearim* (1 S 6:19 ff). The defeat of Israel and the plague of Bethshemesh seem to have destroyed the confidence of the Israelites in the ark, for it is not mentioned again until David brought it from the house of Abinadab to a new sanctuary in Jerusalem; and on the journey one of the porters died (2 S 6:2 ff). David, who was trying to unite a disunited Israel, saw in the ark a symbol not only of the God of Israel but also of its ancient unity; and the ark lent sanctity to his new capital city, Jerusalem, which until recently had been Jebusite. The ark was carried into battle against Ammon (2 S 11:11). It was finally placed in the temple* of Solomon (1 K 8:6 ff) and is no more mentioned in the historical books; its use in processions, however, is suggested by such passages as Ps 24:7-10. Jeremiah hinted at its future disappearance (3:16) and it must have perished in the destruction of the temple in 587 bc. An unhistorical tradition that Jeremiah saved it from destruction is preserved in 2 Mc 2:5. It is mentioned in the NT in Heb 9:4 and Apc 11:19, where it appears in the heavenly temple.

The ark was a symbol of the presence of Yahweh, but both its traditions and its symbolism have become somewhat mixed. Modern studies have disclosed the existence of portable shrines among the pre-Islamic tribes of Arabia, and the ark falls into the same pattern. It is the shrine of a nomadic people who have no houses and no settled abode and therefore no temples. Lack of a detailed description of the ark prevents a detailed explanation of its symbolism. It may have resembled the sacred ceremonial boat carried in Egyptian religious processions, which symbolized the boat in which the sun god Re makes his daily circuit of the heavens. Incense altars of Canaanite manufacture have been discovered with a structure which resembles a miniature temple; this similarity has been suggested by some scholars, but neither this nor the sacred boat seems to fit the nomadic shrine. The refer-

ences to Yahweh "enthroned upon the cherubim" (1 S 4:4; 2 S 6:2; Ps 80:2) suggest that the ark was the throne upon which Yahweh stood invisibly upon the cherubim. Canaanite deities are represented as standing upon the back of animals; since there was no image of Yahweh, only the footstool was represented. The images of Assyrian gods seated upon their thrones were carried in processions. Thus the ark was the symbol of Yahweh's personal presence, the place where atonement was received, where divine communications were granted. It was carried into battle to symbolize Yahweh's kingship and leadership. It was also the symbol of the covenant* of Yahweh with Israel; He was present because He had elected them as His people and imposed upon them the commandments which the ark contained.

Armageddon (Gk *harmagedon*), the place where the kings of the earth are mustered for battle on the great day of God (Apoc 16:16). The name suggests Hb *har me'giddō*, mountain of Megiddo. Megiddo was probably the most famous battlefield of ancient Palestine (Jgs 5:19, the defeat of Sisera* by Barak* and Deborah*; 2 K 23:29, the defeat of Josiah* by Necho*); it is also the place of mourning for Hadadrimmon (Zc 12:11). The mountain of Megiddo, however, does not appear in biblical or extrabiblical literature. F. Hommel suggested Hb *har mō'dēd*, mountain of assembly (Is 14:13), the Mt Sapon of Canaanite* mythology where the gods assemble.

Armor. The use of metal for body protection in war in Israel is at least as old as Saul* (1 S 17:38) and Goliath* (1 S 17:5). It is also mentioned as worn by Ahab* (1 K 22:34). Uzziah* was the first to equip the entire army with armor (2 Ch 26:14). The absence of remains or of pictures does not permit a reconstruction of Israelite armor. The word *nešek* is now thought to mean armor in general, *širyōn*, scale armor of bronze or iron; this is mentioned in 1 S 17:5, 38. The armor of the Assyrian soldier consisted in a coat of mail of knee or ankle length, and this may have been the Hebrew type. Before Uzziah only the king and nobles wore body armor. A metal helmet also was worn, but its shape is not described; the Assyrian helmet was a rounded cone. A gold helmet, ornamental rather than practical, found in a tomb of Ur is molded to the head, even the hair and ears. Greaves are mentioned only in 1 S 17:6 (Goliath), and the Philistines may have used them. As a substitute for metal armor the common soldier may have used leather coats or jackets, perhaps reinforced with metal strips. In the

Pauline writings armor is a metaphor in which the Christian virtues are described (Eph 6:14, 17; 1 Th 5:8).

1 Th 5:8

Coat of mail of faith
and love
Helmet of hope of
salvation

Eph 6:14 ff

Coat of mail of
righteousness
Helmet of salvation

Belt of truth
Shoes of the Gospel
Shield of the faith
Sword of the spirit,
the word of God

Army. In early Israel the army (Hb *šābā'*) was no more than the collection of all the men able to bear arms. In times of danger or invasion the men of the neighborhood were assembled under the clan or tribal leaders, each furnishing his own weapons. The trumpet sounded the call to war; if larger numbers were needed, they were summoned by messenger, but there was no obligation on those summoned to render assistance. The numbers were not large; Gideon* led 300 men against the Midianites* (Jgs 7:6), and the tribe of Dan* counted 600 fighting men (Jgs 18:11). Astronomically high numbers are often found in the OT; these are due not only to their growth in oral tradition, but also to the lack of exact counting and the common inability to estimate the numbers of a crowd; cf also THOUSAND. The total number of Israelite fighting men in the 11th–10th centuries BC is once estimated at 40,000 (Jgs 5:8). The Israelite forces must have been larger than those of the Canaanites, who were superior in discipline and equipment; the governors of Palestinian cities assure the Pharaoh in the Amarna* Letters that the safety of the city will be assured if he sends a garrison of 50. An organized army does not appear in Israel before Saul; its nucleus was a select group of Israelite professional soldiers (1 S 14:52). This royal guard was organized and expanded by David* from the men who had followed him as a bandit chieftain and also by hired foreign mercenaries such as the Kerethi and Pelethi (cf CHERETHITES and PELETHITES). A number of non-Israelite names occur among David's heroes. The army or "host" under Joab was also more strictly organized, although we have few details; one of the purposes of the census of 2 S 24:1 ff was to ascertain Israel's military potential. The division of the host into 12 army corps (1 Ch 27:1 ff) doubtless reflects the original organization, although it is unlikely that each corps had a month's tour of duty during the year; but since the entire host was rarely if ever called out, there must



a) Army of Eannatum. b) Assyrian battle scene.
c) Assyrian soldiers.



have been some system of apportioning military service. Excuses from service are enumerated in Dt 20:5-8; 24:5, but this may describe an ideal rather than actual practice. The army was divided into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, each under its own officer; these numbers are technical terms and not enumerations, and could include more or less than the number indicated; cf THOUSAND. Like all ancient armies, Israel divided its forces into light-armed (bowmen and slingers) and heavy-armed troops. The

light-armed troops handled missiles and were the mobile units, having only a small shield and no body armor. The heavy-armed troops were infantry lancers with some body armor* and a large shield* and sword*. Chariots* were first introduced under Solomon. The army of Israel under the monarchy compared favorably with that of other western states; according to the records of Shalmaneser III* Ahab* had 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry at the battle of Karkar in 853 BC.

Arnon (Hb 'arⁿōn), a river mentioned frequently as the boundary between Moab to the S and the Amorite kingdom of Sihon*, later Israelite territory, to the N (Nm 21:13 f, 24, 26, 28; 22:36; Dt 2:24, 36; 3:8, 12, 16; 4:48; Jos 12:1 f; 13:9, 16; Jgs 11:13, 18, 22, 26) and hence poetically the stream associated with Moab (Is 16:2; Je 48:20). The Wadi Mojib, the modern name of the Arnon, forms a natural barrier between N and S, but nowhere does the old Eng translation of *nahal* as "brook" seem more grotesque; the Wadi Mojib is a deep and precipitous canyon cut by the stream through the plateau of Moab and it is one of the most impressive natural sights of Palestine. The highway crosses it or rather descends to the bottom about 40 mi S of Amman; at this point the canyon is over two mi wide and about 1300 ft deep. Nearer the exit of the canyon into the Dead Sea the walls of the canyon become perfectly perpendicular to a height of several hundred feet, and separated by barely more than the width of the stream at the bottom.

Aroer (Hb 'rō'ēr, meaning unknown), a city mentioned several times as lying on the edge of the valley of the Arnon (Dt 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; Jos 12:2; 13:9, 16; 2 K 10:33). It is included in the territory of Reuben in Jos 13:9, 16; 1 Ch 5:8, in the territory of Gad and Reuben in Dt 3:12; on the relation of these two tribes and their territories cf GAD; REUBEN. The town was Israelite in Jephthah's time (Jgs 11:26) and was included in David's kingdom (2 S 24:5). The site is probably Tell Arair, S of Dhiban on the N bank of the gorge of the Arnon. Geographers question whether this is the Aroer intended in Jos 13:25 (attributed to Gad) and Jgs 11:33 (involved in Jephthah's battle with the Ammonites). Jgs 11:26 cannot be questioned, since the speech attributed to Jephthah actually deals with a border dispute between Israel and Moab. Aroer is mentioned in the Moabite stone (ANET 320). Another Aroer nearer Ammon in the territory of Gad is postulated for these verses; but Jos 13:25 may refer to the Aroer on the Arnon, since Gad included the territory of Reuben to some extent. Aroer of Jgs 11:33 may have come into the text from Jgs 11:26. The Aroer of 1 S 30:28 must lie in Judah. The Aroer of Is 17:2, which would lie near Damascus, is very probably the result of corruption of the text and is not found in the LXX.

Arpad (Hb 'arpad), mentioned several times as captured by the Assyrians in the time of Sennacherib* (2 K 18:34; 19:13; Is 36:19; 37:13; 10:9), threatened in Je 49:23 (of

uncertain date). It is always mentioned with Hamath*. It is probably Tell Erfad in Syria, about 19 mi N of Aleppo. Arpad was the capital of a Syro-Hittite kingdom comprising N Syria from Mt Amanus to the Euphrates. With other Syrian kingdoms it accepted Assyria as overlord. Arpad rebelled against Tiglath-pileser III and surrendered after a siege of three years.

Arphaxad (Hb 'arpakšad), perhaps identical with Akkadian *arrapḫa*, located near the modern Kirkuk; this geographical or gentilic name appears as a son of Shem in the table of nations* with Elam*, Assyria*, Lud*, and Aram* (Gn 10:22) and in the genealogy of Shem (Gn 11:10 ff). The name, derived from Gn, appears in Jdt 1:1, 5 as a king of the Medes* who founded Ecbatana*; this king is a fictional character.

Arrow. Cf BOW.

Artaxerxes (Hb 'artaḥšasta', from Persian *artakhshatra*, etymology uncertain); the name of 3 Persian kings. Artaxerxes, on the advice of a letter from the Samaritans*, prohibited further work on the temple (Ezr 4:7 ff). Artaxerxes permitted Ezra* and his company to go to Jerusalem (Ezr 7:1 ff; 8:1). Nehemiah* was the butler of Artaxerxes and obtained from him authority to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (Ne 2:1 ff; 5:14; 13:6). There can be no doubt that the king mentioned by Nehemiah is Artaxerxes I Longimanus (464–425 BC) and the older opinion of scholars put Ezra's career in his reign also; but the many difficulties in the chronology of Ezra-Nehemiah have led many modern scholars to date Ezra about 398 BC and to identify the king mentioned in Ezr with Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–358 BC).

Artemis (Gk *artemis*, most English versions Diana, the Roman goddess of similar character), mentioned in the Bible only in AA 19:23 ff. Artemis in Gk mythology was the virgin huntress, the sister of Apollo. Originally she was a fertility goddess; this appears from her title "queen of the wild beasts," her patronage of childbirth, and her association with the forests and springs. The Artemis of Ephesus* was an Asian mother goddess. Her image represented her fruitfulness by multiple breasts. Her temple, the *Artemision*, was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Demetrius* and his fellow silversmiths made miniature temples and saw in the conversions effected by Paul a threat to their trade; they incited the citizens to a riot in which the lives of Gaius* and Aristar-

chus*, Paul's companions, were endangered (AA 19:23 ff).



Artemis of Ephesus.

Arvad (Hb 'arwad, meaning uncertain), a city of Phoenicia; included in the Canaanite genealogy (Gn 10:18; 1 Ch 1:16), associated with Tyre (Ezk 27:8, 11). The site is Ruad, about 95 mi N of Beirut. Arvad, like Tyre, was an island city (about 2 mi off the coast). It established a number of colonies and was the center of a small confederacy. It was in opposition to the

Egyptians and furnished the Hittites* a contingent of troops at the battle of Kadesh (1280 BC). From 1125–625 BC Arvad was under the hegemony of Assyria except for brief periods; it paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BC), Ashur-nasir-pal II (888–859 BC), Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BC), Sennacherib (705–681 BC), Esarhaddon (680–669 BC), and Ashur-bani-pal (668–630 BC). Its submission was not perfect; it furnished troops to the coalition which fought Shalmaneser III at Karkar (853 BC). Ashur-bani-pal notes a rebellion of Arvad and his own installation of a new king; the two events may be related. The city came under Babylonian influence in 604 BC, Persian in 539 BC, Gk in 333 BC, Roman in 64 BC.

Asa (Hb 'āsā, meaning uncertain), son and successor of Abijah* as king of Judah (913–873 BC). He removed the fertility cults which had flourished under the protection of his mother Maacah*. When he was attacked by Baasha of Israel he used the wealth of the temple treasure to bribe Ben-hadad* of Damascus* to declare war on Israel; he then destroyed Baasha's fortification of Ramah* and used the materials to fortify Geba* and Mizpeh* (1 K 15:9–24). 2 Ch 14:8 ff adds the account of an invasion of Zerah* the Ethiopian, which was repelled. The same source expands the religious reforms of Asa and attributes them to the inspiration of the prophet Azariah* (2 Ch 15:1 ff). Another prophet, Hanani*, rebuked him for seeking the aid of Ben-hadad (2 Ch 16:7 ff); this is the prophetic policy which Isaiah* later invoked against Ahaz* (Is 7:1 ff). A final criticism of the Chronicler concerns the disease of his feet in the last years of his life, when he sought not Yahweh but the physicians (2 Ch 16:12).

Asahel (Hb "sāh'el, "El has done"), son of David's* sister Zeruiah* and brother of Joab* and Abishai*. In the battle with Abner's forces at Gibeon Asahel pursued Abner; the arms of the hostile commander were the most distinguished of all trophies. Abner warned him not to follow but finally had to kill him (2 S 2:18 ff). Joab later murdered Abner in blood revenge (cf AVENGER). The name is borne by three others in the OT.

Asaph (Hb 'āsāp, probably abbreviated from 'el 'āsāp, "El has gathered"). The "sons of Asaph" were a Levitical guild of singers. They were among the party who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel* (128 in Ezr 2:41; 148 in Ne 7:44). The guild traced its origin to an eponymous ancestor who was

David's* chief musician (1 Ch 16:5+) and through him to Levi* through Gershom*. The name appears in the titles of Pss 50; 73-83, where it probably indicates that the Pss belonged to the collection of this guild; cf PSALMS. The name is borne by two others in the OT.

Ascension. The ascension of Jesus is the transfer of His risen, glorious body to "heaven"*, i.e., to the world of the divine; it implies His corporeal survival, His final glorification, His departure from the material universe. P. Benoit has classified the texts which bear upon the ascension under three heads: (1) Texts which affirm the exaltation of Jesus into heaven, specifically to the right hand of the Father, but do not mention the ascension (AA 7:55; Rm 8:34; Eph 1:20; 2:6; Phl 2:9 f; Col 3:1; 1 Pt 1:21; 1 Jn 2:1). Under this heading are included texts which speak of the Parousia*, the coming of Jesus from heaven (Phl 3:20 f; 1 Th 1:10; 4:16; 2 Th 1:7; Tt 2:13; Js 5:7 f; 1 Pt 1:7, 13; 4:13; 5:1; 1 Jn 2:28).

(2) Texts which mention the ascension as a purely theological fact: He ascended far above the heavens that He might fill all things (Eph 4:10); He was taken up in glory (1 Tm 3:16); He sits at the right hand of God (Heb 1:3, 13), who has put everything under His feet (Heb 2:7-9; 8:1; 10:12 f; 12:2). In Heb the ascension is conceived as the entrance of Jesus the high priest into the innermost sanctuary to perform His priestly act of intercession (Heb 4:14; 6:19 f; 7:26; 8:1; 9:24), or His entrance into that which belongs to Him as son (Heb 1:3, 13; 2:7-9). The ascension into heaven and the sitting at the right hand of God are combined in 1 Pt 3:22. The ascension is alluded to in obscure terms in Jn 3:13; 6:61.

By "theological" Benoit means that these texts affirm the transfer of Christ to heaven as a dogmatic fact, but do not define it as an historical fact in the sense that they fix time and place or relate ocular testimony. In particular both Eph 4:10 and 1 Pt 3:22 imply an ascension which Benoit calls "an ascension of cosmic dimensions." These passages affirm the physical reality of the heavenly triumph of Christ; by the ascension He leaves the earth and the created universe, with no implication of a particular place or time.

The exaltation of Christ and the sitting at the right hand of the Father is a more frequent motif than the ascension as such. The formulation of this belief is undoubtedly affected by the text of Ps 110:1, applied to the exaltation in AA 2:32-34.

(3) Texts in which the ascension is repre-

sented as an established historical fact observed by sensible experience. Such texts appear only in Lk 24:50 f; AA 1:9 f. It must be noticed that the event is described with restraint; actually only the departure is observed, and Lk 24:50 differs from AA 1:9 in economy of details; Lk says only that "He parted from them" and does not use the word "ascend" or "was taken up." On this basis some critics have suggested that AA 1:9 f is an expanded account of the event related in Lk 24:50, in which the theological fact of the ascension is added to the event of observation. But the two accounts are more complex than this. Lk 24 in its entirety is composed so as to suggest that all the events from the resurrection to the ascension occur on the same day; AA 1:3 says explicitly that 40 days intervened between resurrection and ascension. The 40 days are very probably a round number; but the interval appears to be supported by the accounts of the Christophanies of the other Gospels, which can scarcely be compressed into a single day. It is therefore likely that Lk 24 is schematic rather than chronological, and this is a feature of his style. Benoit suggests that AA 1:3-11 is a deliberate retelling with more explicit details.

The silence of other NT books on the ascension is remarkable. Outside of 1 Tm 3:16 the ascension as an event is not mentioned in the entire Pauline corpus. In the Catholic epistles it is mentioned only in 1 Pt 3:22. It is not mentioned in Mt at all. The mention in Mk 16:19 occurs in the conclusion which is not original with Mk and appears to be composed from the data given in Lk. The Johannine conception of the ascension is suggested in Jn 20:17 and implied in the entire course of Jn 20-21, and it diverges sharply from the conception of Lk-AA; for the ascension in Jn is conceived as it is in Lk as occurring on the day of the resurrection. Of this ascension there were no witnesses. The Christophanies are therefore conceived as returns of the Risen Christ. It must be noticed that this is the conception implicit in almost all the NT allusions to the exaltation of Christ, which treat the resurrection and exaltation as a single event which completes the victory and earthly career of Jesus and marks the climax of the process of salvation. Benoit points out that there are two ways in which a double tradition and double conception of the ascension appear, in both of which Lk is set in contrast with the other NT writings: (1) The conception of the event as invisible and transcendental, not an object of observation and record but of faith and dogmatic affirmation, in contrast to Lk's conception of an event which is observed; (2) The con-

ception of resurrection-ascension as a single event, in contrast to the 40-day interval of AA. It is suggested above that AA 1:3-11 may be explained as development of Lk 24:50 f; but the Lucan conception of the Ascension as a phenomenon is an original feature which needs some explanation.

Benoit has explained it by the removal of any real contradiction between the Lucan interval of 40 days and an invisible ascension which follows the resurrection immediately. He points out that the essence of the mystery of the ascension is the invisible transcendent accession of Jesus in His physical presence to the world of the divine, which is an object of faith and dogmatic affirmation; no phenomenon could be perceived except the departure. Such an immediate ascension, which implies that the Christophanies were returns, removes the minor but real problem of locating the physical presence of Jesus during the interval. It is also suggested by Jn 14:28, "I go but I return to you," by Mt 28:18, "All power is given me in heaven and on earth," and by Paul's belief that his own vision of the risen Jesus at Damascus was a Christophany of the same kind and equally valid as a qualification for his apostleship (cf APOSTLE) as the Christophanies seen by the Twelve. In Benoit's opinion, then, the "ascension" of Lk 24:50 f; AA 1:3-11 is really the last Christophany.

The account of Lk-AA exhibits some theological features proper to Lk. The "cloud" of AA 1:10 is clearly an allusion to the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds at the Parousia, which will take up where the ascension leaves off. Furthermore, the ascension in Lk-AA is a necessary prelude to the coming of the spirit*; here the theology of the spirit in Lk is identical with the theology of the spirit (Paraclete*) in Jn. That the account is told in terms of the cosmogony of the times, with heaven as the absolute "up" beyond which God dwells, is no more relevant than the same cosmogony in the biblical conception of creation*. Here one must remember Benoit's observation that the essence of the mystery is the transcendental accession of Jesus to the realm of the divine from the sphere of His incarnate life. The ascension is primarily His exaltation and glorification, the sign and seal of His ultimate accomplishment of His mission.

Asenath (Hb 'ās^enat, probably Egyptian, "belonging to [the goddess] Neit"), an Egyptian, daughter of Potiphera, priest of On*, wife of Joseph*, mother of Manasseh* and Ephraim* (Gn 41:45, 50; 46:20)

Ashdod (Hb 'ašdôd, called Azotus [Gk

azōtos] in the Gk period), one of the five cities of the Philistines*. It is listed with the other four cities in Jos 13:3 (an anachronism) and in the cities of Judah (Jos 15:46 f); this notice cannot be historical, as it is doubtful that the city was ever possessed by Judah. The notice that some of the Anakim* survived there after the conquests of Joshua is likewise doubtfully historical. It was the seat of a temple of Dagon, the scene of the collapse of the image in the presence of the ark* (1 S 5:1-7). It appears elsewhere in lists of the Philistine cities (1 S 6:17) and is with them the object of a number of threatening oracles of the prophets (Am 1:8; Zp 2:4; Zc 9:6). Je 25:20 calls it the remnant of Ashdod, an allusion to its ravages by Assyrians and Egyptians. It was taken and dismantled by Uzziah (2 Ch 26:6). In Am 3:9 most critics read Assyria (with the Gk text) for Ashdod. Is 20:1 f alludes to a rebellion of Ashdod against Sargon of Assyria in AD 711; more details of the rebellion appear in the records of Sargon (ANET 284, 286-287). Ashdod sought help from Hezekiah* of Judah, but the king refrained from sharing in the rebellion. Ashdod remained loyal during the rebellion against Sennacherib* (ANET 288) and appears as an ally of Esarhaddon* (ANET 291) and Ashur-bani-pal (ANET 294). The king of Ashdod appears in a list of satellite kings of Nebuchadnezzar* of Babylon (ANET 308). Ashdod was the capital of a district in the Persian administration; with others its people opposed Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Ne 4:1). Ashdod was one of the foreign communities with whom the Jews intermarried in Nehemiah's time (Ne 13:23 f). "The language of Ashdod" to which Nehemiah objected (*ibid*) was probably Aramaic*. In the Maccabean period the city was hostile to the Jews and was sacked by Judas (1 Mc 5:68) and burned by Jonathan (1 Mc 10:84; 11:4). It was included in Herod's* kingdom. After his death it was granted to Salome as a personal gift from Augustus. It was included in the kingdom of Herod Agrippa*. The region was evangelized by Philip* (AA 8:40). The site is the modern Eshdud, about 19 mi SW of Lydda and halfway between Jaffa and Gaza. It lies near the sea at the confluence of three water-courses from the Shephelah*. In ancient times the city was served by a port which was a satellite city.

Asher (Hb 'āšēr, meaning uncertain), the etymology in Gn 30:13 is popular; son of Jacob* and Zilpah*, the slave of Leah (Gn 30:13), and the name of one of the tribes of Israel. In the blessing of Jacob

(Gn 49:20) and the blessing of Moses (Dt 33:24–25) the tribe is described as very prosperous; but its part in Israelite history was small. Both the location of its territory, near the Phoenician coast N of Carmel, and the notices of Jgs 1:31–32 suggest that the tribe was isolated from the rest of Israel and closely assimilated to the Canaanites; it “stayed by the sea-coast” when summoned by Deborah* and Barak*, although its own territory must have been touched by this war (Jgs 5:17). It is, however, mentioned among the tribes which answered the summons of Gideon (Jgs 6:35; 7:23). The name may be geographical rather than tribal; and the tribe possibly did not become Israelite until some time after the settlement. It was included in one of the administrative districts of Solomon* (1 K 4:16). The name can be probably identified in an Egyptian document from the time of Merneptah (1234–1220 BC), possibly also in the time of Ramses II (1301–1234 BC). The name in the Ugaritic* literature has been shown to be based on a misreading.

Asherah (Hb *ʾāšērāh*, many older English versions “grove”), this is now known to be the name of a Canaanite goddess. In Ugaritic* mythology Asherah, “the Lady of the Sea,” was the consort of El, the father of the gods. In the Baal* epic she gives birth to monsters who devour Baal, and opposes the building of a palace for Baal. In the OT, however, she appears as the consort of Baal; most frequently the word signifies a cult object, probably of wood, since it could be planted or cut down. It appears with an altar of Baal in the household of the father of Gideon* (Jgs 6:25 ff), and is mentioned in the reigns of Rehoboam* (1 K 14:23), Asa* (1 K 15:13, erected by the queen mother, Maacah*), Ahab* (1 K 16:33), Jehohaz* (2 K 13:6), and Manasseh* (2 K 21:7); they were destroyed by Josiah (2 K 23:6 ff). Jezebel* supported 400 prophets of Asherah (1 K 18:19). The object was probably a wooden stake either incised with the symbols of the goddess or fashioned into a crude image. In Israel she seems to have assumed the character and functions of Anath*, Astarte*, and Ishtar in various forms of the myth and ritual of fertility; the numerous references attest the popularity of this superstition in Israel.

Ashima (Hb *ʾāšîmāʾ*), a deity worshiped by the colonists from Hamath* whom the Assyrians* settled in Samaria (2 K 17:30). It may possibly be connected with a deity Ashim? Bethel worshiped by the Jewish colony of Elephantine* in Egypt, and is thought by some scholars to appear in Am

8:14, “the Ashima of Samaria,” English versions “the guilt of Samaria.”

Ashkelon (Hb *ʾāškēlôn*, meaning uncertain), one of the five cities of the Philistines; the list of Jos 13:3 is an anachronism. The notice of its capture by Judah is doubtfully historical (Jgs 1:18). It was raided by Samson (Jgs 14:19). It appears in lists of the Philistine cities (1 S 6:17) and is the object of threatening oracles by the prophets (Am 1:8; Zp 2:4, 7; Zc 9:5). The statement of Je 47:5, 7 that Ashkelon has perished is illuminated by a recently discovered papyrus (cf below).

Ashkelon is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th–18th centuries BC (ANET 329), and in the list of Canaanite cities sacked by Merneptah (1230 BC; ANET 378). The king of Ashkelon is accused of disloyalty to the Pharaoh in the Amarna* Letters and writes defending himself (ANET 488, 490). It was the site of an Egyptian temple of Ptah. It was sacked by Ramses II in his Asiatic campaigns (ANET 256). Ashkelon paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser* III of Assyria (ANET 282), who also records a revolt of the city which he suppressed (ANET 283). Sennacherib deposed its king when he refused submission and replaced him by another (ANET 287). It was an ally of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal. (ANET 291, 294). Men from Ashkelon appear in lists of the dependents of Nebuchadnezzar* (ANET 308). An Aramaic papyrus* discovered at Saqqarah in Egypt in 1942 and published in 1948 is a letter from a Palestinian king (the name of the city has been lost) appealing to the Pharaoh for help against the king of Babylon. Scholars attribute this letter to Ashkelon as the most probable source. It was the only coastal city not taken by Alexander Jannaeus (cf HASMONEANS) and thus remained Hellenistic; after the Roman conquest of Palestine it had the status of a free city. The site is Khirbet Askalan, on the coast about halfway between Ashdod* and Gaza*. Ruins of Herodian public buildings can be observed. A sounding was conducted at the site in 1920 under the direction of J. Garstang and W. Phythian-Adams; the debris of Roman and medieval occupation was too thick to permit penetration to the Philistine levels of occupation. Philistine levels were reached in the excavation of 1964 directed by D. N. Freedman.

Ashkenaz (Hb *ʾāškēnāz*, meaning uncertain), in the table of nations* a grandson of Japhet* through Gomer* (Gn 10:3; cf 1 Ch 1:6), mentioned in Je 51:27 with Minni and

Ararat*; a geographical name probably to be located in or near Armenia.

Ashtaroth (Hb *'aštārôt*, derived from the name of the goddess Asarte*, Ishtar), a town of Bashan*, named with Edrei* as the royal residence of Og* of Bashan (Dt 1:4; Jos 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31). It is located in the territory of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh in Jos 13:12, in the territory of Manasseh in Jos 13:31; 1 Ch 6:56. It is included in the Levitical cities of Gershon* (1 Ch 6:56). Ashtaroth Carnaim (Gn 14:5) is probably identical with Ashtaroth; cf CARNAIM. The site is probably Tell Ashtar, E of the Sea of Galilee and 15 mi N of Deraa (Edrei*).

Ashur (Hb *'aššur*), a son of Shem* (Gn 10:22); cf ASSYRIA.

Asia. In 1–2 Mc the name designates the Seleucid* kingdom, which extended after the battle of Ipsos (301 BC) from the Hellespont to the Indus. After the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans (189 BC) at Magnesia most of the modern Asia Minor was detached from the Seleucid kingdom, but the name in Mc remains (1 Mc 8:6; 11:13; 12:39; 13:32; 2 Mc 8:3; 10:24). The territory taken from Antiochus III was transferred by the Romans to the kingdom of Pergamum*, which then included our Asia Minor W of the Halys. To this kingdom the Romans applied the name of Asia. In 133 BC the kingdom was left to the Romans by the will of Attalus III, the last of the Attalid dynasty, and the Romans established the territory as the proconsular province of Asia. The word in NT designates this province (AA 2:9; 6:9; 16:6; 19:1 ff +; Rm 16:5; 1 Co 16:19; 2 Co 1:8; 1 Pt 1:1; Apc 1:4).

Asiarch (Gk *asiarchēs*, found in AA 19:31 and inscriptions, but meaning not entirely clear). They are thought to be the priests of the cult of Caesar* in the province of Asia, elected each year by the cities of the province to preside over the festival and games in honor of the emperor. They were probably wealthy and influential men, and the title was retained for life. Some of them were friendly to Paul during the riot at Ephesus* (AA 19:31).

Asmodeus. A demon who killed the seven husbands of Sarah*, the daughter of Raguel*, on their wedding night (Tb 3:8). On the advice of Raphael*, Tobias burned some of the heart and the liver of the fish he had caught to expel the demon (Tb 16:13 ff), who was then bound by Raphael in upper

Egypt (Tb 8:1 ff). The name Asmodeus is the Persian Aeshma-Daeva, one of the seven evil spirits. The entire account belongs to the popular character of the romance of Tobias; cf TOBIT.

Asnapper. Cf OSNAPPER.

Asp. In most Eng versions asp translates Hb *peten*, a venomous serpent mentioned in Dt 32:33; Pss 58:5; 91:13; Jb 20:14, 16; Is 11:8; cf BS 39:30. The *peten* is most probably the Egyptian cobra, now rare in Palestine and only in the S. It has an elongated flattened head (represented on the uraeus serpent head of the crown of the Pharaoh); before it strikes it swells its neck, sways, and rears. The cobra has no external acoustic organ, which is probably alluded to in its designation as “deaf” (Ps 58:5).

Ass. The Bible alludes to both the wild ass or the onager and the domesticated ass. The wild ass is a proverbial example of freedom (Gn 16:12; Jb 39:5–8). It haunts the ruins of abandoned cities (Is 32:14). The political meanderings of Israel are compared to the wandering of the wild ass (Ho 8:9). Yahweh cares for the animal (Ps 104:11). Je 14:16 pathetically describes the suffering of the wild ass during a drought.

The domesticated ass in ancient as in modern times was the most common and most useful animal in the Near East. Its importance is shown by the occurrence of the ass in Israelite law (Ex 20:17; 21:33; 22:3, 8 f; 23:4 +). The ass may not be yoked with the ox (cf YOKE). The ass is generally gray and stands about 3 ft or a little more in height, just enough for a man to ride. It is extremely sure of foot and has a tractable disposition, and can move quite swiftly when it is in the mood. Its powers of carriage are remarkable, and it can move nearly anything that can be loaded on its back. It is also proverbially sluggish, and drivers move it by a constant application of a stick to the rump. The relations of the ass to its owner are depicted with the utmost fidelity in the amusing story of Balaam* (Nm 22:21–33), apart from the fact that Balaam's ass complains about the beating. The ass was ridden both by men and by women (Jos 15:18; Jgs 1:14; 1 S 25:20, 23). It was employed as a beast of burden (Gn 42:26; 45:23; 1 S 25:18 +) and is illustrated in the tomb painting of Beni Hassan (ANEP 3). As a riding animal it was good enough for a king, although Zc 9:9 probably includes the ass as a feature of the messianic king of the poor*. Such passages as Jgs 12:14 suggest that the possession of an ass for riding was a luxury, although it would be

a poor peasant who did not have one for working. The ass is also a draught animal (Is 30:24; 32:20) and was used to turn the millstone (Mt 18:6); in modern Egypt it is used to turn the water wheel. The flesh of the animal was unclean and it was eaten only during a desperate famine (2 K 6:25). The ass was not sacrificed (Ex 13:13; 34:20).

Assassins (Lt *sicarii*, "dagger men," mentioned in AA 21:38), extreme nationalist wing of the party of Zealots* who arose during the troubled years AD 50–70. They carried small daggers (Lt *sica*) under their garments and assassinated selected enemies while they mingled with crowds. AA 21:38 indicates the organization of 4000 into a band of brigands. It was probably this group which twice plotted Paul's murder (AA 20:3; 23:12 ff).

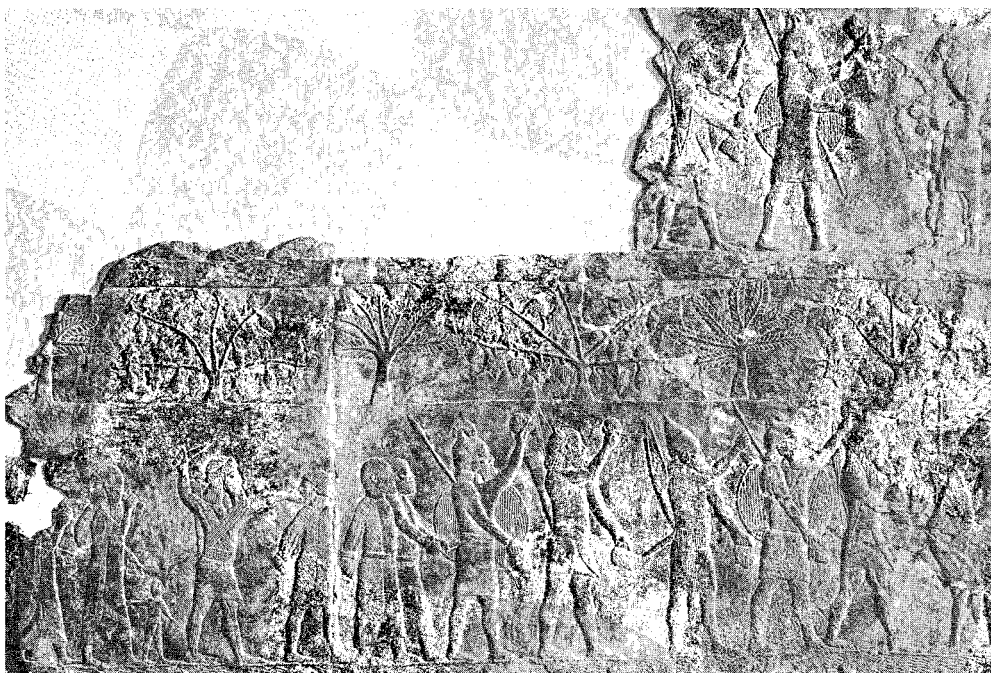
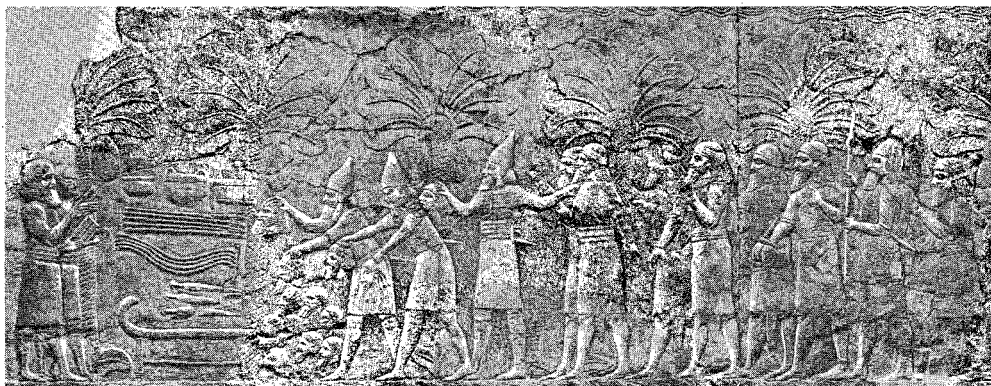
Assos (Gk *assos*), a city and seaport of Mysia* in the Roman province of Asia, where Paul met his companions for the voyage to Mitylene (AA 20:13 f). The site is the modern Behram Keui on the NW coast of Asia Minor.

Assyria (Hb *'aššûr*, etymology uncertain).
1. *Name and geography.* The name Ashur belongs primarily to the oldest Assyrian city, situated on the right bank of the Tigris between the upper and the lower Zab, then to the surrounding district, then to the people of the district. The god of the city and the people was also called Ashur; the name of the city may be derived from the god. It lay N of Akkad* and E of Mitanni and close to the Zagros mountains on the E and the mountains of Armenia on the N. The decisive geographical fact is that the district had no natural frontiers and was open to attack on all sides. In its earliest history it struggled for survival against incorporation in larger empires; its later history is an epic of conquest in which its offensive against its neighbors carried it to the limits of the world known to the ancient Semitic peoples.
2. *History.*

I. *Origins and Early Period* (to 1363 BC). The origins of Ashur are obscure. The art of later Assyria presents a distinct "Semitic" type of countenance with characteristic large hooked nose, heavy upper lip, and thick curly hair and beard; it differs not only from the Sumerian countenance but also from that shown in Babylonian art. In the time of Sargon of Akkad (2350 BC) Ashur was probably ruled by Akkadian invaders from the south; it was subject to the kings of the 3rd dynasty of Ur* (2050–1950 BC) and to Isin and Larsa (1950–1830 BC). After the

collapse of Isin and Larsa before Amorite* invaders Assyria gained its independence. The "Cappadocian tablets," discovered at Kültepe in Asia Minor, the ancient Kanish, are written in Old Assyrian and show the existence of large Assyrian commercial colonies in Asia Minor and extensive trade relations between the two regions. Assyria came under the Amorite invaders under Shamshi-Adad I (1749–1717 BC), who in turn was defeated by Hammurabi* of Babylon, and Assyria became a province of the Babylonian empire. In the disintegration of the empire Assyria regained its independence, but lost it again to Mitanni in the 16th century BC; this period, when Mesopotamia was inundated by the barbarian invasion of the Kassites, is extremely obscure.

II. *Middle Period.* The kingdom of Mitanni fell before the Hittites* in the 14th century BC and Assyria regained its independence under Eriba-Adad (1490–1364 BC). His successor Ashur-uballit (1363–1328 BC) installed a vassal king of Babylon. Adad-nirari I (1305–1274 BC), who assumed the ancient title of Sargon of Akkad, "king of the four quarters," laid the foundation of empire by again defeating Babylon, conquering the western trade centers of Harran* and Carchemish, and carrying Assyrian arms into Armenia and the Iranian plateau. Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 BC) continued campaigns in the same directions, again defeating Babylon and suppressing a revolt in Urartu (Ararat*). Assyrian power reached its greatest extent in this period under Tukulti-Ninurta (1243–1207 BC), who moved westward against the now weak Hittite empire. Babylon was once again defeated, and this time it was leveled to the ground. Tukulti-Ninurta replaced its king by an Assyrian governor and took the treasures of the great temple of Esagil and the statue of Marduk* to Assyria. At the peak of his power Tukulti-Ninurta was murdered in the revolt of his son, who was unable to maintain Assyrian strength, and Assyria was shortly reduced to a vassal state of Babylon. The relations between Assyria and Babylon were much like those of Rome and Greece; Assyria felt itself spiritually and culturally inferior to Babylon, which had become the most civilized city of the ancient Near East. Even in its period of greatest growth it sensed itself growing more and more "Babylonian" in its culture. This helps to explain the persistence of Babylon under Assyrian defeats, so that it finally outlived its stronger neighbor. But both cities were submerged in the great barbarian invasions of the 13th–12th centuries BC which caused upheavals in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia. From the middle period survive



Assyrian victory scenes.

extensive fragments of a code of Assyrian law. Compared with the code of Hammurabi the Assyrian law is barbaric in its penalties, and in general shows a much less developed jurisprudence.

III. Recent Period. The barbarian invasions left Assyria reduced to a small area around Ashur; but the other great powers were equally reduced or totally destroyed, and Assyria under Tiglath-pileser I (1112-1074 bc) was the first to recover. Tiglath-pileser restored the conquests of the 14th-13th centuries in Babylonia, Armenia, and in the west as far as Syria. He organized these territories

more tightly than any of his predecessors and brought to realization the ancient Akkadian ideal of a world kingdom. This ideal endured even under his weaker successors and was an objective for which later and stronger kings could strive. In the W Tiglath-pileser met the Aramaean* immigration from the desert, which he was unable to stem. His successors were much weaker than he and could not prevent the establishment of the strong merchant city-states of the Aramaeans in Syria and Mesopotamia. The destruction of the Aramaean cities became the primary objective of Ashurdan II (932-

912 BC). Adad-nirari II (911–890 BC), Tukulti-Ninurta II (889–884 BC), whose steady attacks prepared the way for the more successful conquests of Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859 BC) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC). Ashur-nasir-pal set himself to restore the boundaries of the earlier empire and to pass them if possible. He conquered Carchemish on the Euphrates and the Aramaean cities between the Tigris and the Euphrates so effectively that there was no revolt there. The conquered territories were organized into provinces and districts under his own officers. He transferred the royal city from Ashur to Calah, on the left bank of the Tigris N of the upper Zab; some scholars believe that this was a move from the cultural influence of Babylon. Calah, fallen into ruins after centuries of abandonment, was rebuilt in magnificence and settled with people from the conquered Aramaean cities. Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC) moved still farther westward and southward. Babylonia as far as the Persian gulf was secure under vassal kings. Some Aramaean cities W of the Euphrates were conquered and Shalmaneser invaded Syria as far S as Damascus; two battles with an Aramaean coalition, Karkar (853 BC) and Hamath (848), were indecisive, but weakened the Aramaeans. Ahab* of Israel was among the allies at Karkar, and Jehu* of Israel paid tribute in 842 BC, together with a number of Aramaean cities which tried thus to buy off further Assyrian invasions. After his successor Shamshi-Adad V (823–810 BC) Assyrian power was retarded and much of the conquered territory was not held effectively; in other parts there were revolts. The weak frontiers of Urartu in Armenia to the N and the Iranian plateau to the E, where a people called the Medes* now appears, were neither now nor later strengthened permanently. In 745 BC a palace revolution in Calah brought Tiglath-pileser* III, a man of unknown origin, to the throne (745–727 BC). He restored Assyrian power to its former limits, made himself king of Babylon in place of the satellite king, and conquered the Aramaean cities of Syria, including Damascus*. The conquered territory was organized as provinces; cities were allowed to keep their satellite rulers, and tribute was demanded from them. Half of the kingdom of Israel was incorporated into the Assyrian province in 734 BC, and tribute was received from Judah. Shalmaneser* V (727–721 BC) devoted his entire reign to suppressing rebellion in the W; he destroyed Samaria* and the remnant of the kingdom of Israel, but died before the surrender. Sargon II (721–705 BC) was not a son of the king, and it is not known how he reached the throne. He held

and consolidated the conquests of Tiglath-pileser, and had little trouble in Syria and Palestine. He finally destroyed the kingdom of Urartu, but did not himself live to see that this opened the northern frontier to barbarian invasion from beyond. In the S a new adversary grew strong; the Chaldean* Marduk-apal-iddin (the biblical Merodach-baladan*) revolted and seized the throne of Babylon. Sargon suppressed the revolt and the Chaldeans fled to the marshes of the Persian Gulf, whence Marduk-apal-iddin was to return. Sargon moved the royal residence to an entirely new city, Dur-Sharrukin, completed only two years before his death, after which it was abandoned. He died in battle and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib (705–681 BC). Sennacherib was met by a general revolt throughout the entire empire. The revolt of the Chaldeans under Marduk-apal-iddin was aided by Elam, and the revolt of Palestine was aided by Egypt. The western revolt was quickly suppressed when Egypt was defeated at Eltekeh; Jerusalem was besieged but not taken, and Hezekiah* was left as a vassal king. The Babylonian revolt required several campaigns, and Elam was defeated; Sennacherib did not, like his predecessors, unite the two kingdoms under himself, but established a satellite king. When rebellion broke out again, Sennacherib solved the Babylonian problem by leveling the famous ancient city to the ground. Sennacherib was assassinated by two of his sons in a palace intrigue (2 K 19:37), but the throne was seized by another son, Esarhaddon*, who pursued and punished the murderers. Sennacherib transferred the royal residence to the old city of Nineveh*, on the left bank of the Tigris a little above Calah, and this remained the royal city until its destruction. Esarhaddon (681–669 BC) had to fight against the Chaldeans in Babylonia, where he rebuilt Babylon. He invaded Egypt, which had long supported revolt in the W; Memphis was sacked (671) and Esarhaddon established 20 satellite kings in Egypt, all of whom were overthrown immediately after the departure of the Assyrians. Esarhaddon died during the campaign to recover Egypt. Before his death he designated his eldest son, Shamash-shum-ukin, as king of Babylon, and a younger son, Ashur-bani-pal, as king of Assyria. The threat from the barbarians of the N and the Medes on the E continued to grow during his reign, but he was unable to do anything about it. Ashur-bani-pal (668–630 BC) continued the campaigns in Egypt and restored Assyrian power; he sacked Thebes and installed a satellite Pharaoh. In several campaigns Elam was totally defeated. But the kingdom was rocked by the revolt of his

brother Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon in 652, who was aided by several disaffected vassals; the revolt was suppressed after four years of costly warfare. After the death of Ashur-bani-pal the end came quickly. Assyria had expended its manpower in a century of worldwide warfare, while the Medes had grown strong and the Chaldeans, safe in the marshes of the "Sealand," had fostered their resources. In 616 BC the two allies began an offensive, and the heartland of Assyria was lost when Nineveh was destroyed in 612 BC. All of the Assyrian cities were so thoroughly leveled that they were never resettled. An Assyrian army under Ashur-uballit established an Assyrian kingdom at Harran but was driven westward by the allies; despite the assistance of the Egyptians under Necho*, it was finally defeated in 609 BC and the Assyrians disappeared from history.

3. *Religion.* Assyrian religion was that of Babylonia, with the exception of its national god Ashur, who gave his name to the city and the people. Ashur was primarily a warrior and a conqueror, whose symbol was an archer within a winged disk. The conquests of Assyria were his victories, and some scholars have explained Assyrian militarism as religiously motivated. He exhibits no characteristics of a nature deity and no consort; he was, in fact, an embodiment and a deification of the nation itself.

4. *Significance.* In biblical studies Assyria is the controlling factor in Israelite history during almost 200 years. Besides this its indirect cultural influences on Israel were numerous and decisive. The cultural dependence of Assyria on Babylon has been noticed. Assyria diffused Babylonian culture through its empire. It created no literature except its annals (cf below), but it is from the library of Ashur-bani-pal that most Akkadian literature has been recovered; besides collecting, the scribes of Ashur-bani-pal also drew up grammatical and lexicographical material on older Akkadian and Sumerian texts, and this has been the most important means of interpreting these languages. Their *limmu* lists, dating each year of a reign by a royal officer's name, are the only consistently reliable scheme of dating all events in the ancient Near East, including Israelite history, for the 9th–7th centuries. The Assyrian royal annals are so great a refinement of the old royal records as to be a new literary form; they are concise but detailed and unfaithful to fact only by omission. They are the only monumental record of the period except for the OT, which is more limited in scope. The annals are supplemented by Assyrian art, one field in which they excelled Babylon. Relief sculpture on a large scale was brought to a point no

other artists had reached; and their eye for detail and their realism have preserved Assyrian garments, weapons, and furniture, as well as similar details for other peoples. Politically they were the first to realize the world state, an ideal which goes back to Sargon of Akkad; had they developed an administrative machinery to compare with their military machine, it would have endured longer. They did not, despite the efforts already mentioned, and had to hold the empire together by force. A part of this force was the calculated frightfulness of their conquests, which we learn from their own records. They intended to weaken resistance and discourage revolt by making horrible examples of rebels and persistent enemies. Hence whole cities were entirely destroyed, kings and their officers were flayed or impaled, whole armies were decapitated and whole populations enslaved. Tiglath-pileser III moderated this somewhat by removing populations from one part of the empire to another, as he removed the Israelites from Samaria and replaced them by colonists likewise displaced. By uprooting them from their soil he hoped that they would become citizens of the one kingdom of Ashur, and within the empire he was successful; the final blows came from outside. Assyria was, at least at first, a frankly plundering empire and exacted heavy tribute; but it also permitted a much more free exchange of goods and peoples over a larger area, and its unification outlasted itself. The Assyrian empire passed intact to the Babylonians and from them to the Persians and then to Alexander*; it came apart only under his successors, but there was a unity of culture even in political separation. The ideal of a world state, that peoples would attain maximum peace and security under a single government, was likewise passed to Alexander and from him to Rome. Thence it lived on in such ideals as the Holy Roman Empire, "Christendom," and in all subsequent efforts to achieve over a continental area what the Assyrians did. The Hebrew prophetic idea of the world kingdom of God did not take definite shape until the Hebrews had seen the world kingdom of Assyria, which threatened to destroy the kingdom of God; and the idea of this kingdom* of God, enunciated in the Gospels, is a basic Christian belief.

Astarte (Hb *aštōret*; the word was written with the vowels of the word *bōšet*, "shame," "shameful thing," which was to be read instead of the name of the pagan deity). With Anath* and Asherah* Astarte was one of the three Canaanite goddesses of fertility; their characteristics are not usually care-

fully distinguished. Astarte was in all respects similar to Anath. She was identified with the evening star. Unlike Anath she is mentioned several times in the OT. She is the goddess of Sidon* (1 K 11:5, 33; 2 K 23:13). The Philistines* had a temple of Astarte (1 S 31:10). The name occurs in the plural with Baal, also in the plural (Jgs 2:13; 10:6; 1 S 7:3, 4; 12:10), which suggests that she was the consort of Baal in the form of fertility cult adopted by the Hebrews. A number of Astarte plaques and figurines have been found in Israelite levels of occupation; Albright believes that those found by him at Tell Beit Mirsim are amulets* worn or carried by women during pregnancy and parturition.

Astrology. The art of divination* by the heavens was incredibly developed in Mesopotamia which has left extensive literature on its interpretation. It is mentioned in the OT only in a poem on the fall of Babylon (Is 47:13). Some scholars render the Aramaic* word *gazrayya* (Dn 2:27; 4:7; 5:7, 11) as astrologers.

Atargatis (Gk *atargatis*), a temple of this goddess is mentioned in Carnaim (2 Mc 12:26). The name is probably a corrupted form of Astarte*. Her cult at Hierapolis in Syria, as described by Lucian, was an extreme form of the Semitic cults of the mother-goddess Ishtar, Anath, and Astarte. Her consort was Attis (Gk Adonis) who killed himself by self-castration; her priests castrated themselves in her honor. The festival was celebrated by sacred prostitution. The goddess was represented with the body of a fish, which is thought to represent her journey through the underworld.

Ataroth (Hb *"tārôt*, "sheepfold"?), the name of several towns. 1. In the territory of Gad* (Nm 32:3, 34); the Moabite Stone (cf MESHA) says that the men of Gad had always inhabited it and that it was built by the king of Israel. Mesha* took it (ANET 320). The site is probably the modern Khirbet Attarus 8 mi NW of Dibon*. 2. On the NE boundary of Ephraim (Jos 16:7), probably the modern Tell Sheikh ed Diab in the Jordan valley N of Jericho. 3. On the boundary of Ephraim and Benjamin* (Jos 16:2), called Ataroth Addar in Jos 16:5; 18:13. The site is unknown. 4. Ataroth Beth Joab in the territory of Judah (1 Ch 2:54). The site is unknown.

Athaliah (Hb *"talyāh*, "Yah[weh] is exalted"?), daughter of Ahab* and Jezebel* and wife of Jehoram*, king of Judah (2 K 8:18, 26). After her son Ahaziah* was killed

by Jehu* she murdered all the royal family except the infant Joash who was saved by his sister Jehosheba and hidden in the temple by the priest Jehoiada*. After Athaliah had reigned six years (842–837 BC) Jehoiada won over the loyalty of the royal guard and proclaimed Joash* king in the temple, after the doors had been secured. Athaliah was unable to escape or summon help and was led out of the temple and executed (2 K 11:1 ff), and her temple of the Baal was destroyed and its priest Mattan killed.

Athens (Gk *athēnai*), a city of Greece located in Attica, the peninsula which forms the SE extremity of the mainland of Greece. The city lay in ancient times about 5 mi from its harbor, the Piraeus. The "Long Walls" which joined Athens and the Piraeus in a single fortified enclosure in the 5th century BC did not exist in NT times. The city faces the Saronic Gulf to the SW and is almost entirely ringed by mountains to the E and N. The modern city of Athens occupies the same site but is larger by far than Athens of ancient times.

The city was visited by Paul almost by accident; he awaited his companions there after their expulsion from Berea* and before their journey to Corinth*. He found a synagogue there and was moved by the many religious buildings and images of the city to dispute in the *agora* or market*. He was heard by philosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic schools and was invited to address them formally at the Areopagus*. His discourse, much more formal and erudite than his usual style, was not impressive, and only a few men and women were convinced (AA 17:10–34). There is no further record in the NT of a Christian community at Athens.

Although settlement on the site of Athens goes back to the Neolithic period, the city does not appear in history until the 7th century BC. During the Persian wars Athens emerged as the leading Gk city and reached its peak as a leader in politics and creative culture during the 2nd half of the 5th century. The Athens which Paul visited was not the great city which produced so much in literature and the arts; it had not enjoyed political liberty since Philip of Macedon defeated it (337 BC) and had been sacked by Sulla in the early 1st century BC. But it was the city which Romans regarded as the center of philosophy and the arts and the city wherein any one who wished a genuine education must study.

Many of the remains which are now visible in Athens represent structures which were in existence in the 1st century AD; in particular, the religious buildings and art which attracted Paul's attention have survived to



a) Athens, Acropolis. b) Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

a notable extent. These include the Acropolis with the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the temple of Victory, and the great stairs and gateway on the W called the Propylaea. The hill of the Acropolis rises steeply above the city to a height of 512 ft and despite the ruined condition of the structures is one of the most impressive sights of the world. At the foot of the Acropolis were the temple of Asclepius the healer, the theatre of Dionysius and the Odeum of Pericles. The temple of Zeus Olympios, the largest temple of Greece, lay SE of the Acropolis; although it was begun in 530 BC, it was still unfinished

when Paul saw it. The *agora* or marketplace lay N of the Acropolis and has been excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in a series of campaigns since 1930. The level uncovered by these excavations represents the *agora* as it was constructed in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC, the *agora* which Paul saw. It is a large level area covering several acres which was almost completely enclosed by stoas or colonnades; from one of these, the Stoa Poikile, the Stoic school of philosophy received its name. On the E side stood the great Stoa of Attalus of Pergamum*, restored by the American

School after the recent excavations. Two smaller stoas stood on the S side and another great stoa, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, on the W. The Stoa Poikile (many-colored) probably stood on the N side, where excavation was impossible. To the W of the *agora* stands the Theseum, one of the best preserved Gk temples. The *agora* was extended to the E by benefactions of Julius Caesar and Augustus*; the area contained many shops and arcades and is now called the Roman *agora*. The *agora* contained buildings for public business and numerous temples dedicated to Apollo, Aphrodite, Hephaestus, the Mother of the Gods, and Ares. On the place where Paul spoke of AREOPAGUS.

No inscription "to an unknown god" (AA 17:23) has been found at Athens. The geographer Pausanias, however, mentions similar inscriptions at Athens and at Olympia, and a fragmentary inscription which probably contains the phrase has been found at Pergamum. An inscription to an unnamed god or goddess has been found at Rome. The inscription mentioned in AA 17:23 is not therefore unparalleled in Gk and Roman cities.

Atonement (Eng *at-one-ment*, "bringing together"), theologically it includes the ideas of expiation for sin and reconciliation of man with God.

1. *OT*. The key word for atonement is Hb *kappēr* and its derivatives, which means etymologically to cover, to conceal the offending object and so to remove the obstacle to reconciliation. In the cultic ritual the word is used in a technical sense, to make an act of atonement, which is accomplished by the application of the blood of the victim (cf SACRIFICE). The priest makes an act of atonement for himself or for another or for all Israel, or he makes an act of atonement for sin or guilt. This is the first step in reconciliation and Yahweh Himself takes the second; "he makes an act of atonement—and he is forgiven" (Lv 4:20, 31; Nm 15:25+). The gold plate of the ark of the covenant* was the "place of atonement," *kappōret*, the place where Yahweh receives atonement. Outside of the Levitical code the word used of Yahweh Himself means to receive an act of atonement (Pss 78:38; 79:9; Ezk 16:63; Je 18:23). The effect of the act of atonement is defined by the metaphorical use of the word in Is 28:18, "your covenant with death will be voided;" so the sin or guilt for which atonement is made is voided and annulled, it is no longer an effective obstacle to reconciliation. One may also be reconciled by the payment of a fine or damages, *kōper*; but this leads into the

pattern of ransom and redemption, which is not the same as that of atonement.

2. *NT*. Of the Gk words for *kappēr* and its derivatives the following are the most important which appear in the NT.

hilaskesthai, *hilasmos*, *hilastērion*: in classical Gk to reconcile or render favorable, reconciliation, the means of reconciliation. This use of *kappēr* is illustrated in Gn 32:20, where Jacob says of Esau, "Perhaps I will render his countenance favorable." The word *hilaskesthai* in Lk 18:13; Heb 2:17, is used in the OT sense of *kappēr*. Christ Himself is *hilasmos*, reconciliation for our sins, and for this the Father has sent Him (1 Jn 2:2; 4:10). God has set Him (or displayed?) as *hilastērion*, the means of reconciliation in His blood (Rm 3:25); the language indicates that God has made him a sacrifice of atonement.

katharizein, *katharismos*: in classical Gk, to cleanse, used for the ritual cleansing of the mystery cults; the LXX use introduces a new metaphor into *kappēr*. But *kappēr* is reflected in 2 Co 7:1; Eph 5:26, and especially in Heb 9:22–23; 1 Jn 1:7, 9, where "atone for sin" has become "cleanse from sin." Heb 1:3, making *katharismos* of sins, must be translated making atonement. *aphairein*: classical Gk, to take away, but in no religious use; to take away sins, Rm 11:27; Heb 10:4.

katallasso, *katallagē*: classical Gk "reconcile," "reconciliation" but not in LXX. We are reconciled to God (Rm 5:10; 2 Co 5:20); God reconciles us and the world to Himself in Christ (2 Co 5:18–19). We receive reconciliation through Christ (Rm 5:11). The apostles* have the ministry and the message of reconciliation (2 Co 5:18–19). The rejection of the Jews could be the reconciliation of the world (Rm 11:15). In these words the idea of the ritual act of atonement is suppressed. It is to be noted that except for Rm 11:15 these words appear in only two contexts. God is the agent of reconciliation but not of atonement, which is the act of Christ as the representative of men. This is seen most clearly in Heb, where the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ are compared with the priesthood and sacrifice of Aaron, who performed the act of atonement for the people (cf FORGIVENESS).

Atonement, Day of (Hb *yōm hakkippūrīm*), the 10th day of the 7th month: the ritual is described in Lv 16:1 ff; cf Lv 23:26 ff; Nm 29:7 ff. The priest, dressed in linen vestments, takes two goats as a sin-offering and a ram as a burnt-offering for the community, and a bullock as a sin-offering for himself. Lots are cast for the two goats; one is for Yahweh, one for Azazel*. Atone-

ment is made by applying the blood of the sin-offerings to the furniture of the sanctuary and the altar. He then lays his hands on the goat for Azazel and confesses the sins of Israel, and the goat thus laden symbolically with the national guilt is expelled into the desert. The priest then changes his vestments and offers the whole-burnt sacrifices. The atoning agent is the blood of the victim, which symbolizes life. Only in this ceremony was the sacrificial blood applied to the inner Sanctuary, the Holy of Holies. The day was also celebrated by a fast and a sabbatical rest.

Attalia (Gk *attaleia*), a seaport city on the coast of Pamphylia, the modern Adalia, founded by Attalus II, king of Pergamum 159–138 BC, from which Paul sailed to Antioch to conclude his first missionary journey (AA 14:25).

Attalus (Gk *attalos*), one of the kings to whom the Romans addressed a circular letter warning against attacks on the Jews (1 Mc 15:22); king of Pergamum in Asia Minor, either Attalus II (159–138 BC) or Attalus III (138–133 BC).

Augustus. Gaius Octavius (cognomen unknown), nephew of Gaius Julius Caesar. After Caesar adopted him as his heir he took the name of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. In the civil wars which followed the assassination of Caesar Octavianus was finally triumphant in 31 BC and ruled Rome until his death in AD 14. The title Augustus (venerable) was granted him by the Senate in 27 BC. He refused the title of king, but ruled through his control of the Senate and his office as tribune and proconsul of the provinces where legions were stationed. Jesus was born during his rule (Lk 2:1; cf CENSUS; JESUS CHRIST). All succeeding emperors retained the title of Augustus. He was a patron of Herod* the Great, at first a follower of Antony, and Augustus confirmed him as king of the Jews.

Avenger. In the nomadic society of the desert there were no police or courts and the individual man could not defend himself. Hence the rights of the person were under the protection of his family and clan, each of whom was obliged to defend his kinsman or to avenge him. The Hb *gō'el*, "avenger," covers this complex of duties. Life and bodily integrity were protected by the assurance that the nearest kinsman would seek out the killer or the assailant. The obligation arose as soon as the death or injury was known and no further legal process took place. Naturally if the group to which the

killer belonged thought the revenge was unjust they would avenge in turn; and thus arose the feud or vendetta, which could lead to the extinction of entire groups.

The unrestricted custom of vengeance does not appear in Hb law. In the earliest laws, the code of the covenant limits the vengeance to the damage inflicted (Ex 21:23–25) and does not permit life to be taken in revenge for injury. The law is still further regulated (Nm 35:10 ff; Dt 19:1 ff; Jos 20:1 ff) by a distinction between accidental homicide and murder*; the homicide may flee to designated cities of refuge where his guilt may be determined; revenge for murder is left to the avenger of blood. Excessive vengeance is threatened in the song of Lamech* (Gn 4:23–24), the descendant of the first murderer, Cain*, who demands "seventy and sevenfold," i.e., unlimited revenge. The problem of revenge within the family itself was settled by David in the fictitious case of the woman of Tekoa (2 S 14:5 ff) by the principle that blood revenge has no place in the family, since it would consume itself; it is intended to protect the family from external aggression. From this it appears that the obligation of the *gō'el* is directed less to the protection of the individual than to the preservation of the group. This appears also in the obligation of the *gō'el* to purchase landed property of his kinsman in order to keep it within the family; if a man were forced to sell his land, the next of kin had the first opportunity to buy. Custom permitted him to pass the obligation to the next of kin after him (Lv 25:25 ff). The operation of this law is seen in Rt 4:3 ff; Je 32:6 ff. The law of the levirate*, which obliged a man to marry his brother's widow if his brother died childless, is also a form of the obligation of the *gō'el*. Hence the law of "revenge" is really a statement of the wider duty of each man to support his nearest of kin and thus to protect the family and clan from extinction.

It is against this social background that we find Yahweh called the *gō'el* of Israel or the Israelite 35 times in the OT, especially in Is 40–55. The translation "redeemer" or "redemption" fails to bring out the appeal to Yahweh as the next of kin who has the duty of protecting his clan and its individual members. The kinship thus invoked does not rest upon any physical relationship, but upon the covenant by which Yahweh has made Israel His own.

Awwim (Hb *'awwim*), a pre-Israelite tribe of Canaan living in the neighborhood of Gaza* in territory later occupied by the Philistines* (Dt 2:23; Jos 13:3). The in-

clusion of the name among the cities of Benjamin* (Jos 18:23) is difficult, and some suspect that the text is corrupt.

Axa. Cf ACHSAH.

Ayin (Hb 'ayin), the 16th letter of the Hb alphabet. The sound, written ' , is not heard in English; it is close to a g pronounced gutturally.

Azariah (Hb 'azaryāh, "zaryāhû, "Yahweh helps"). 1. King of Judah better known as Uzziah*. 2. A companion of Daniel* who received the Babylonian name of Abednego*. With Daniel he was taken into the court of Nebuchadnezzar* (Dn 1:6 ff) and passed the test of fasting. With Shadrach* and Meshach* he was cast into the fiery furnace and escaped unharmed (Dn 3:12 ff). This popular name was borne by 20 others in the OT.

Azazel (Hb "zā'zēl, meaning and etymology unknown). On the Day of Atonement* the high priest* confessed the sins of the people while imposing his hands upon a goat (Lv 16:21). This "scapegoat" was then expelled into the desert "to Azazel" (Lv 16:8, 10, 20, 26). The symbolism of expelling the guilt-laden goat from the community needs no explanation; but the name Azazel is not

explained. In the opinion of most scholars it is the name of a demon who inhabits the desert; such allusions to popular belief in demons* are found elsewhere in the OT. The origin and antiquity of the rite are unknown, nor is it known why the guilt-laden animal should be sent to this demon. G. R. Driver, however, translates the word as "precipice," with no demonic significance.

Azekah (Hb "zēkāh), a town of Judah (Jos 15:35) near the site of the battle of Joshua with the five Canaanite kings (Jos 10:10 f), and the camp of the Philistines* in their invasion against Saul (1 S 17:1). Azekah was fortified by Rehoboam* (2 Ch 11:9) and was one of the towns settled after the exile* (Ne 11:30). During Nebuchadnezzar's campaign it was one of the last cities of Judah to fall (Je 34:7). Its capture is perhaps alluded to in the Lachish* Letters; the writer observes that they are watching the signals of Lachish but can no longer see the signals of Azekah (ANET 322). The site is Tell Zakariyeh in the Shephelah*; it lies in the valley of Elah 7 mi NNE of Beit Jibrin. The site was excavated by F. J. Bliss in 1898; a fortified citadel with eight towers was found at the highest point of the mound, but the structures were not dated by the excavators. Possibly the fortifications are to be attributed to Rehoboam.

B

Baal (Hb *ba'al*, "lord" in the sense of owner or master, e.g., of a wife, a slave, a piece of property.) Most commonly it is a divine appellative (not a personal name) and as such appears as a component in many personal and local names. Baal worship appeared early in Israel; the Israelites worshiped the Baal-Peor of Moab (Nm 25:1 ff). It is

is clearly indicated in Ho 2:2-13. This passage also indicates that Yahweh was sometimes given the attributes of the Baal and worshiped with the rites of the Baal. Hence the large number of Israelite names compounded with Baal found in the ostraka* of Samaria do not necessarily indicate Baal worship.

The character of the Baal cult has been much illuminated by the discovery of the Canaanite mythological tablets of Ugarit*. The title Baal, "lord," was applied to several gods; but when used without further qualification it signified the storm-god Hadad* (Akkadian Adad or Addu). In the Ugaritic texts he has the title Aliyan, "he who prevails" (Albright). As the storm-god who rules the weather he is the giver of fertility. The myth of the death and resurrection of Baal represents the annual cycle of the cessation and return of fertility; by the ritual enactment of the myth the recurrence of the cycle is assured. The extensive fragments of Ugarit show that the character of both the gods and the myth was fluid. Baal is killed by the monsters spawned by Asherah*. His consort Anath* attacks and kills his adversary Mot (death); perhaps another form of the myth contained the killing of Baal by Mot. The death of Mot restores Baal to life, but then Baal himself enters into mortal combat with Mot. Anath and Baal then obtain from El, against the wishes of Asherah, a palace for Baal like that of the other gods; the symbolism is obscure, but it probably represents the annual return of fertility. The inconsistency is only apparent; each of the adversaries is always dying and prevailing in turn. There are also references to a combat between Baal and various draconic monsters, Yam (Sea), and the biblical Tannin and Lotan (cf LEVIATHAN). These must be forms of the dragon of chaos subdued by the creative deity (cf CREATION). The ritual enactment of the myth no doubt included the sexual union of Baal and his consort, represented by a priest and a priestess, and sexual union of the worshipers with the goddess represented by the sacred prostitutes; by this sexual union they participated in the divine power of fertility.

Baalism was a danger to Israelite belief not merely because of its obscenities but also because it was nature worship which reduced Yahweh to the level of a personified natural force and made religion no more



A Syrian representation of Baal brandishing the thunderbolt from Ugarit.

mentioned several times in Jgs, and Gideon tore down an altar of the Baal in his father's household (Jgs 6:28). Several of the kings of Israel and Judah permitted or patronized the cult of the Baal. It is mentioned by the prophets Hosea, Zephaniah, Jeremiah. To worship the Baal is to "serve" him, to "walk after" him, or to "commit fornication after" him. The Baal had prophets (1 K 18:19 ff; Je 2:8 +). The symbol of the Baal was the *massēbāh*, an upright stone pillar of uncertain character (2 K 3:2; 10:26 +). It may have been raw unhewn stone or possibly a crude image; in any case, it was most probably a phallic symbol. The Baal was worshiped on the high* places. Frequently the OT speaks of Baals in the plural; this does not indicate that the Baal was a local god to be found in each city; like so many ancient gods, the Baal took a number of forms and was worshiped in a special way or under some special title in a number of places. That he was a dispenser of fertility

than a means of securing the good of nature. Ultimately the cult was a denial of any moral values or of any transcendental reality.

Baal-hazor. Cf HAZOR.

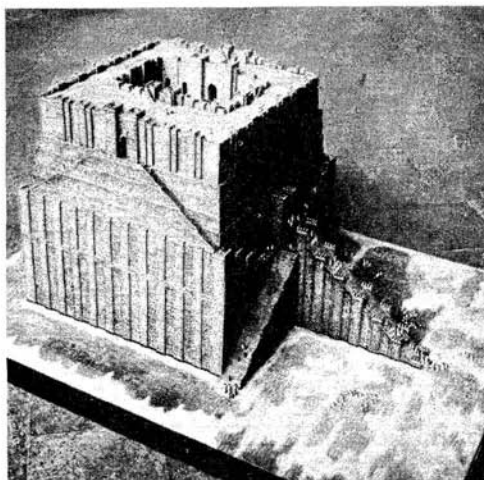
Balis (Hb *ba'alīs*, etymology unknown), king of Ammon* at the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BC, who sent Ishmael* and his band to murder Gedaliah* and furnished them asylum (Je 40:14 ff), intending thus to disrupt the Judahite community which had survived the disaster. He was successful; the survivors fled to Egypt (Je 42:1 ff).

Baalzebub. Cf BEELZEBUB.

Baanah (Hb *ba'anāh*, etymology uncertain), with his brother Rechab* a guerrilla commander of Ishbaal*, son and successor of Saul*. Observing David's growing success, Baanah and Rechab murdered Ishbaal in his house and took his head to David, expecting a reward; but David executed them (2 S 4:1 ff). Their crime, however, hastened the accession of David to the throne of all Israel (2 S 5:1 ff).

Baasha (Hb *ba'šā*, etymology uncertain), son of Ahijah of Issachar, king of Israel 900-877 BC. He came to the throne by the assassination of Nadab*, son of Jeroboam* I, and murdered the entire family of Jeroboam. He established his royal city at Tirzah*. He was at war with Asa* of Judah for his entire reign and was at first successful; but when he blockaded Jerusalem by the fortification of Ramah*, Asa subsidized Ben-hadad* of Damascus* to invade Israel on the N. Baasha was rebuked for his impiety by the prophet Jehu ben Hanani (I K 15:16-22; 15:33-16:7).

Babel, Tower of. In Gn 11:1-9 is related the story of a great tower erected in the land of Shinar* and left unfinished because Yahweh confounded the speech of the builders; the city was therefore called Babel or "confusion" (from Hb *bālal*, "to mix, confuse"). Hb *bābel* represents Akkadian *bab-ilu*, Babylon. As an account of the origin of the diversity of languages the story is evidently imaginative, and the etymology *bālal-bābel* is popular. The tower is now recognized as a ziggurat, the tower which customarily stood next to a Mesopotamian temple. The tower of Babylon was called Etemenanki, "house of the foundation of heaven and earth," and was attached to Esagil, "house of the raising of the head," the temple of Marduk. Only the foundation plan of the ziggurat was discovered by the modern explorers; it was a square about 230 ft on a side. Some scholars



Reconstruction of temple tower of Esagil, Babylon.



Remains of Mesopotamian temple tower.

think that the altitude equaled the side of the base. The appearance of the ziggurat must be conjectured from a few more extensive remains and from cuneiform plans and the description of Herodotus. According to this evidence the ziggurat was constructed in an odd number of stages, three, five or seven. Etemenanki, according to Herodotus, was built in seven stages, each with a different

color of brick. On the summit was a small shrine. Access was gained by stairs or ramps or a combination of both, but their construction is uncertain. The symbolism of the ziggurat is also uncertain. It has been suggested that it was, like the Egyptian pyramid, the tomb of the god or of the king; this is not well supported. More probable is the interpretation of the ziggurat as the cosmic mountain, symbolic of the earth itself; Mesopotamian seals represent a god emerging from the cosmic mountain. Not entirely unrelated to this view is the interpretation of the ziggurat as the divine mountain, the seat of the gods. It has also been regarded as an artificial mountain, built by the first settlers of the plain, who had been accustomed to worship on "high places" in their native mountains. The mountain then becomes the link between heaven and earth, by which man ascends to the gods and the gods descend to manifest themselves on the peak. This view finds some support in Gn 11:4, "a tower which shall reach to the heavens," and is perhaps suggested in the dream of Jacob (Gn 28:11-19). In historic times the symbolism of the ziggurat was no doubt already too complex for analysis and probably included some or all of the features indicated.

Babylon, Babylonia (Hb *bābel*, Akkadian *bab-ilu*, probably "gate of the gods").

1. *Geography and description.* The city of Babylon lay on the left bank of the

Euphrates, not far S of the modern Baghdad, where the Tigris and the Euphrates approach each other most closely. The classical name of Babylonia, derived from the city, corresponded geographically to the ancient Akkad*. It is a broad alluvial plain whose soil is enriched by the silt of the two rivers; but their floods are devastating unless they are controlled by canals and reservoirs. These were constructed in prehistoric Babylonia. The slower and more meandering Euphrates is much more easily navigable than the Tigris, a factor which early drew the cities of the region together.

Babylon the city was excavated by Koldevey under the auspices of the Deutsches Orientgesellschaft (1899-1917), and some of the grandeur of the city so much admired by the ancients was revealed. The area of the ruins was roughly 1½ sq mi; the "new city," an expansion built by Nebuchadnezzar on the right bank of the Euphrates, is on the left bank of the present course of the stream. The city was defended by a double wall; beyond this Nebuchadnezzar built another and much more extensive wall. A number of canals passed through the city. There were eight gates, each of which opened into a broad avenue; the intersecting avenues divided the city into quarters. The Euphrates was crossed by two bridges. The city contained 53 temples, of which the greatest was Esagil, the temple of Marduk*, with its temple tower or ziggurat, the tower of Babel*. In this temple stood the statue of Marduk, from



The Ishtar gate.



Victory Stele of Naram-Sin.

whom the king received his royalty each year when he "took the hands of Marduk" at the New Year* festival. This famous statue was removed by the Kassites in the 17th century BC and later returned by them, removed again by the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta (1243–1207 BC) and returned after 66 years, removed again by the Elamite Kutur-Nahhunte about 1176 BC and brought back by the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar I about 1130 BC. It was brought to Nineveh by Sennacherib* of Assyria in 689 BC and restored to Babylon after 21 years by Esarhaddon. These adventures show not only the political rise and fall of Babylon but also the importance of the possession of the statue by one who claimed kingship over the land of Marduk. In the temple were shrines or cells for the statues of the other gods which were carried in procession with Marduk in the New Year festival from Esagil to the *bit akitu*, "new year house," outside the walls; the Ishtar gate, decorated with genii, through which the procession passed, was discovered by the excavators. The ruins of the great palace of Nebuchadnezzar contained what appeared to be two rows of seven vaulted chambers

each, which have been accepted as the substructure of the "Hanging Gardens," one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

2. *History.* Babylon is mentioned for the first time by Sargon of Akkad (c 2350–2294 BC). The city was unimportant until the first dynasty of Babylon was established by the Amorites under Sumu-abum (1830 BC). Under this dynasty, and especially under Hammurabi* (1728–1686 BC), Babylon reached its first period of glory. Successful wars against Larsa, Elam*, and Assyria* united Sumer and Akkad under his rule, which extended nearly to the Mediterranean on the west. Letters to his governor Sinid-dinam at Larsa show that Hammurabi created a closely administered bureaucratic state which provided internal peace and security and allowed commerce and the arts to flourish. His codification of law is of special interest for biblical studies (cf HAMMURABI; LAW). The empire of the Amorites fell to pieces under the invasion of the Kassites, who succeeded them as kings of Babylon. The Kassite period, about 1530–1160 BC, is a dark period culturally, politically and historically for Babylon, and of it there are few records; but the ascendancy of Babylon as a cultural center had been so firmly established under Hammurabi that it was never lost. Politically Babylon remained weak until the 7th century BC. Assyrian expansion moved first in its direction and during the centuries of Assyrian empire Babylon was a vassal kingdom; for most of the period 745–626 BC it was united with Assyria in a dual monarchy under the Assyrian king.

The Chaldean* phase of the history of Babylon begins at the time of the invasion of the Aramaeans*, with whom they were connected. They paid tribute to the Assyrian overlord but were never effectively controlled. Under the weak rulers who preceded Tiglath-pileser* III they became the real masters of Babylonia; but Tiglath-pileser drove them to the S and himself took the throne of Babylon. The Chaldean chief, Marduk-apaliddin (biblical Merodach-baladan*), himself seized the throne of Babylon in 721 BC and in alliance with Elam defeated Sargon of Assyria; although he was later driven S and Babylon was sacked, he continued to harass the Assyrians into the reign of Sennacherib. In 626 BC another Chaldean chief, Nabopolassar (Nabu-apil-usur), governor of the "sea lands," seized the throne of Babylon and revolted against the Assyrians. Nineveh fell to the Babylonians and the Medes in 612 BC and the last Assyrian king established his royal seat at Harran*; he was supported by the Pharaoh Necho of Egypt. He was defeated at Harran and moved westward; no more is related of

him. The Babylonian army, now under the command of Nebuchadnezzar*, defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 bc and in successive campaigns during the ensuing years pushed through Syria and Palestine. Nebuchadnezzar succeeded his father Nabopolassar on the throne in 605 bc, the year of his victory at Carchemish. Jerusalem surrendered to the Babylonians in 597 bc; it revolted in 588 bc and was stormed and destroyed in 587 bc. In the long reign of Nebuchadnezzar (605-562 bc) Babylon, the heir of the Assyrian empire, attained the high point of its glory. His successors were unable to maintain the empire. Nabonidus (556-539 bc) spent much of his reign in Teima in Arabia, possibly attempting to secure his empire by conquests of the Arabian tribes, and left Babylon under his son Belshazzar* as regent. He alienated the priesthood of Marduk, and when Cyrus of Anshan, who had deposed the king of the Medes in 550 bc, defeated Belshazzar in battle, the city was surrendered to him by treachery without any further defense. The city remained an important administrative center under the Persians, but after the Greek conquest it sank into insignificance.

3. *Religion.* Babylonian-Assyrian religion is a syncretism of very considerable elements from Sumerian* religion and of diverse Semitic elements. It is polytheistic; there are at least 3300 divine names in Akkadian literary remains, many of which are different names of the same deity. The gods are represented in human form, larger than men and immortal; in art they are designated by the horned cap. They are divided into two great groups, the celestial gods (*Igigi*) and the terrestrial gods (*Anunnaki*). We can mention only some of the principal deities, some of them treated under special articles.

The cosmic triad is composed of Anu, the god of the heavens, Enlil (Bel*), the god of the upper air, and Ea, the god of the watery abyss. In historic times Anu (whose sign is the sign for "god" simply) already has receded in importance. The astral triad is composed of Sin, the moon god, Shamash, the sun god, and Ishtar, identified with the planet Venus. Sin was worshiped at Ur* and Harran, both mentioned in the traditions of Abraham*. Sin is a god of destiny. Shamash is a patron of law and justice. Cf HADAD; DAGON; MARDUK; NEBO.

Babylonian religion believed in the existence of both good and bad demons*, whose malicious work could be either invoked or frustrated by magic*. It also believed in the discernment of the future by divination*. The gods were present in the temples* in their images*, and there sacrifice* was offered, and hymns (cf PSALMS) and prayers*

were addressed to them. The king* was representative of the divine government, and he received his power to rule from the gods. He was also the chief priest*, but the specialized function of worship was committed to the priests. The kingship was renewed annually at the feast of the New Year*, which also was a renewal of creation*.

In general, Babylonian-Assyrian religion was a worship of nature, and most of the gods are personified natural forces, especially the forces of fertility. Many of the gods, however, have no such nature character in the form in which we know them; and many of them appear as patrons of a city. In Ashur and Marduk, at least, we seem to have the worship of the national genius. But Babylonian religion never rose to the knowledge of a god who really transcends the powers of nature or of the human person. Furthermore, it was disfigured by the gross superstitions of demonology and divination. In spite of the sometimes noble moral sentiments of its hymns, its moral force was slight. In the last analysis it was a religion of this world and its goods; it promised its worshipers nothing more and demanded of them nothing except the performance of the ritual.

4. *Importance.* The contributions of Babylonia to civilization are many and fundamental. The Babylonians adapted the cuneiform* writing of the Sumerians to their own language and produced an extensive literature, although little of any merit. Their mythology and hymns depend to a large extent on Sumerian originals, which are now often available for comparison; but they were more than mere imitators. Of particular interest for biblical studies are the creation* epic, the epic of Gilgamesh*, which contains an account of a universal deluge*, the poem "I will praise the lord of wisdom," which takes up the problem of suffering (cf JOB), and the "penitential psalms," which have some resemblance to certain Hb psalms. The vast literary remains of magic and divination are a pathetic monument to ingenious superstition. The scribes compiled extensive grammatical and lexicographical tablets. Babylonia did not produce history; but the Babylonian Chronicle and the "Synchronistic History," which correlates the kings of Babylon and of Assyria, are primary historical sources.

Babylonia is the cradle of civilization, although here also the Semites were the heirs and improvers of Sumerian institutions. Here men lived in cities, with the diversified specialization of arts, crafts, and trades which freed each family from the food quest as its principal occupation. The cities of Babylonia were governed by law with courts and

police and protection for the basic human rights; these institutions, of course, were imperfectly developed and subject to abuse. The family was the social, economic, and legal unit. Transactions were governed by a law of contract; private property was guaranteed, including landed property. Slavery* was accepted, but its administration in Babylonia was relatively humane. The city-state was a closely organized political unit under a monarchic king, the viceroy of the god; but the popular will was effective through its representatives. Some modern scholars have described this society as "primitive democracy." Manufacture and commercial exchange of goods were carried on in peace and security. The Mesopotamian policy failed in securing peace between its cities and in the organization of its own and conquered territories into a larger political unit. Ultimately this failure was the cause of its ruin.

Science existed only in practical applications, but these were important. The pseudoscience of astrology created a remarkably advanced observation of the heavens and a practical calendar*. Mathematics advanced to the calculation of area and volume. In building and monumental art the Babylonians were surpassed by the Assyrians; but this is largely due to the absence of stone and the use of brick. In such things as seals, jewelry, and personal ornaments the Babylonian craftsmen exhibited a very high technique. Conservatism and stylization imposed limits upon the originality of the artist.

Bacchides (Gk *bakchidēs*, "son of [the god] Bacchus"), a royal officer, "king's friend," of the Seleucid court of Syria* under Demetrius* I Soter, and governor of the territory W of the Euphrates. After Demetrius had murdered his predecessor, Antiochus V, in 162 bc, he sent Bacchides to install Alcimus* as high priest in Jerusalem. After the defeat of Nicanor* by Judas, the king again sent Bacchides to Palestine, where he defeated Judas in the battle of Elasa in 161 bc. He did not succeed in suppressing the Maccabean party, and was defeated by Jonathan in a skirmish near the Jordan. He fortified a number of border points of the territory of Judaea* and after the death of Alcimus returned to Antioch (1 Mc 7:8 ff; 9:1, 12 ff, 32 ff, 43 ff).

Bagoas (Gk *bagōas*, from Hb *bigwai*, probably a Persian name), eunuch of Holofernes (Jdt 12:11; 13:1 ff), who discovered the dead body of his master (Jdt 14:1 ff).

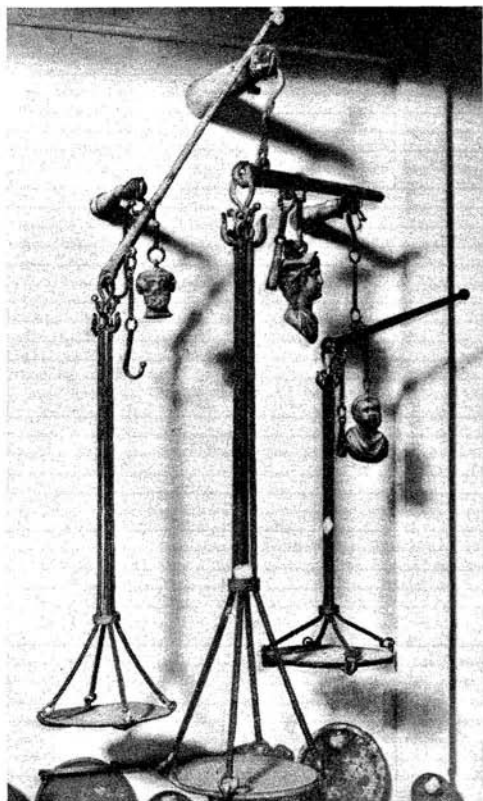
Bahurim (Hb *bahūrīm*, etymology uncertain), a town or village mentioned several times in the stories of David, apparently near

Jerusalem (2 S 3:16; 16:5; 17:18), the home of Shimei* (2 S 19:16; 1 K 2:8) and of David's hero Azmaweth (2 S 23:31; 1 Ch 11:33). It is identified with the modern Ras et Tmim, NE of the Mt of Olives.

Balaam (Hh *bilām*, etymology uncertain), son of Beor, a seer of Pethor* who was summoned by Balak*, king of Moab*, to curse the Israelites (Nm 22:5). The summons and the arrival of Balaam, with his refusal and subsequent acceptance and his visions of God and the refusal of his ass to go on the journey, and his conversation with his animal, are heavily overlaid with details of folklore. Before the ritual curse Balaam built seven altars and offered fourteen sacrificial victims. Balaam then delivered four oracles, each of which is not a curse but a blessing. The first of these (Nm 23:7 ff) praises Israel for its distinction from other nations. The second (Nm 23:18 ff) praises Israel for the fact that there is no misfortune or trouble within it, by which is probably signified the absence of idolatry in Israel; for this reason no divination or enchantment is successful against Israel. The third (Nm 24:2 ff) sees the future prosperity of Israel and its victories over its enemies. The fourth (Nm 24:15 ff) again sees the victories of Israel over its neighbors Moab and Edom*. To the fourth oracle are appended some short sayings about the Kenites*, the Amalekites*, and Ashur* and Eber*. Another and much later tradition about Balaam tells how he counseled the Moabites to seduce the Israelites into the worship of the Baal* of Peor*, and for this he was executed by the Israelites (Nm 31:8, 16; Jos 13:22). The place of Balaam's origin, in Hb "the land of the children of his people," (Nm 22:5), has been corrupted beyond recognition. Albright has argued from the language and the grammatical and syntactical characteristics of the poems that they are as ancient as the 12th or the 11th century, the period to which Balaam belongs in tradition. The same writer has shown that the "Star of Jacob" (Nm 24:17) should actually be translated, "When the stars of Jacob prevail." Balaam is mentioned as a teacher of false doctrine in 2 Pt 2:16; Jd 11; Apc 2:14.

Balak (Hb *balak*, etymology uncertain), king of Moab* who hired Balaam* to curse Israel (Nm 22:2 ff). The episode is alluded to in Jgs 11:25; Mi 6:5. A variant tradition (Jos 24:9) tells of a battle between Balak and the Israelites which is not mentioned elsewhere.

Balance. The balance, in ancient as in modern times, consisted of a standard and an



Balances and weights.

arm from which were suspended pans or baskets; some of these have been found in ancient sites and are represented in ancient art. Some Egyptian paintings show balances with standards nearly as tall as a man and an arm of proportionate size; such balances rested upon fixed bases. Merchants carried small portable balances which could be held in one hand; these are illustrated in ANEP 111, 117. Larger balances are illustrated in ANEP 133, 350, 639. Israelite law prescribed an accurate balance (Lv 19:36; Dt 25:13-16); several prophetic exhortations suggest that this was a common form of dishonesty (Pr 11:1; 16:11; Ezk 45:10; Ho 12:7; Am 8:5; Mi 6:11). The balance often appears in figures of speech (Ps 62:10; Jb 6:2; 31:6; Is 40:12, 15; Dn 5:27).

Balm, Balsam. The balm of Gilead (Je 8:22), Hb *šōrī*, is probably the aromatic resin obtained from the mastix tree, *pistachia lentiscus*, a bushy evergreen which grew in Palestine. The identification of the tree as *balsamodendron opobalsamum* cannot be maintained; this tree is not now na-

tive to Palestine and does not appear to have been. This balm was used for healing purposes (Je 8:22; 46:11; 51:8), was handled by Midianite* merchants (Gn 37:25), was included in the gifts of Jacob to the Pharaoh (Gn 43:11), and was one of the exports of Palestine (Ezk 27:17).

Ban (Hb *herem*, and the verb to make a *herem*), a primitive Hb religious institution by which persons or objects were devoted to the deity. In its earliest form this practice was destruction. The ban is mentioned most frequently in the period of the conquest. It was applied to Jericho* (Jos 6:16 ff, especially 6:21) and is mentioned of other Canaanite cities (Jos 8:26; 10:28 ff). The ban was applied to the Amalekites* by Saul* at the direction of Samuel (1 S 15:1 ff). Saul's failure to execute the ban entirely was the occasion of his breach with Samuel. This policy is imposed in a number of passages of the law of Deuteronomy* (Dt 3:6; 7:2 +), and is also imposed upon the Israelites for one of their own cities if it is proved that there is idolatry in that city (Dt 13:12 ff). In later literature the word sometimes appears simply in the meaning of destroy or exterminate with no religious connotation (1 K 9:21; 2 K 19:11; Je 25:9; 50:21; 51:3). In the priestly code objects which fall under the ban go to the priests (Nm 18:14), doubtless a later modification of the earlier custom of total destruction. The word is also used in the priestly code of simple devotion of an object to Yahweh (Lv 27:28 ff), with no connotation of destruction. The practice of the ban, like a number of other features of ancient Hb law and custom, is a survival from primitive and more barbarous times which finally disappeared with the growth of a more enlightened morality and a more civilized manner of life. These mass murders of hostile peoples were doubtless done in good faith by the early Hebrews, but they cannot be justified morally in any way by the fact that the Hebrews believed that the action was pleasing to God, and the growth of Hb understanding in this respect is exhibited in the historical books, where the practice does not appear after the war of Saul with the Amalekites.

Banaïas. Cf BENAIAH.

Bank, Banker (Gk *trapeza*, lit "the table," "table man"). The table was the counter of the money changer. The earliest function of the banker was to change coins from one denomination to another at a discount. The banker was also a money lender; and money could be deposited with him to be invested

either in money changing or in lending (Mt 25:27; Lk 19:23). Cf LOAN; MONEY. In the Hellenistic world of the 4th–1st centuries BC banking was carried on by temples*, which had great stores of deposited wealth and ample revenues, by public authorities such as city-states and in Egypt the royal bank, and by private individuals. Private banking was carried on in Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period and in the large commercial cities of Syria and Phoenicia, and very probably also in Israel* of the monarchy; but little or nothing is known of their operations. The extensive commerce of the Hellenistic and Roman periods would have been impossible without banking.

Banner. In the camp of the Israelites as described in Nm 2:2 ff, each tribe was assembled around its own banner. The banner or standard as a military emblem was the point around which the troops assembled (Is 5:26) and which showed the direction of march or attack (Is 13:2; 18:3). The ancient military banner was a device upon a pole or a lance. There is nothing to indicate the appearance of the Hb banners. Galling thinks banners may be suggested by the animals associated with tribes in the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49); the lion of Judah, the serpent of Dan, the deer of Naphtali, the bull of Joseph, the wolf of Benjamin. Banners of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, as represented in ancient art or recovered by archaeology, are usually an animal device or a divine symbol; in some cases both motifs are united in one, especially in Egyptian standards. The only banner which is described in the OT is the bronze serpent of Moses (Nm 21:8; cf BRAZEN SERPENT). The standards of the Roman legions were the eagles and other symbols. Jewish prejudice against images was once responsible for a riot in Jerusalem when Pilate* attempted to introduce military standards into the temple* area.

Banquet. Cf MEALS.

Baptism (Gk *baptizein*, *baptisma*), in Christian belief the first of the seven sacraments. Baptism is called by the Church the sacrament of regeneration by water and is administered in modern practice by pouring water upon the forehead. In the early Church baptism was conferred by immersion; sprinkling, now in use in some Protestant churches, was never commonly practiced in the Catholic Church.

1. *Pre-Christian Baptism.* Before Jesus began His public ministry, John* the Baptist was baptizing in the Jordan*. His baptism was symbolic, expressing the repentance

of the sinner, and effected of itself no interior sacramental change. This is signified by a number of NT references to the fact that John baptized with water (Mt 3:11; Mk 1:8; Lk 3:16; Jn 1:26), in contrast to the baptism of Jesus, which was effected by water and the Holy Spirit (AA 11:16). The Qumran* Scrolls now indicate that baptism was practiced by the sect of Qumran before John the Baptist; and a connection between John and this group is not excluded. In the Manual of Discipline it is stated that mere ablution cannot really cleanse a man; only by the submission of his soul to all of God's ordinances can he become clean and thus be sprinkled with the waters of ablution and sanctified by the waters of purification. God Himself will finally purge all the acts of man and refine man's substance, destroying every spirit of perversity within his flesh and cleansing him by a holy spirit and sprinkling upon him the spirit of truth like waters of purification to cleanse him—a phrase remarkably similar to Mk 1:8. The Manual, however, forbids any one to go into water in order to attain the purity of holy men, which indicates that the sect did not regard the rite in itself as effective. It had no value except as a token of the sincere inner disposition of repentance.

The baptism of John is called in the Gospels (Mk 1:4) the baptism of repentance, in contrast to the baptism of Jesus, which was the baptism of the Holy Spirit (cf AA 19:1 ff). In submitting to the baptism of John, Jesus did not confess that He was a sinner, but openly signified His real union with sinful humanity, which He had come to redeem from its sins. The theophany of the voice of the Father and of the Spirit as a dove made this the prototype of Christian baptism "in the Spirit," "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

2. *Baptism in the NT.* Baptism is rarely mentioned in the Gospels. Jesus is said both to have baptized (Jn 3:22) and to have committed baptism to His disciples (Jn 4:2). The necessity of baptism is stated in Jn 3:5; unless a man is born again of water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. The disciples are commanded to make disciples by baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Mt 28:19). The word baptism is used metaphorically of the future passion of Jesus (Mk 10:38; Lk 12:50). The metaphor seems to be based upon baptism as the beginning of a new life or a new state, a crisis. In AA baptism is explicitly reported of almost every individual or group who accepts Christianity (AA 2:38 +). This baptism is said to be conferred in the name of Jesus (AA

8:16; 10:48; 19:5); it is extremely unlikely that this phrase indicates the formula employed in baptizing. It rather indicates that the person baptized receives the name of Jesus (Apc 14:1; 22:4), that is, he accepts the claims of Jesus and unites himself to the group which accepted Jesus as its founder and leader. Baptism is also called baptism in a holy spirit (Mk 1:8; AA 1:5; 11:16). This phrase is clearly used metaphorically in AA 1:5; 11:16; and it is probable that its use in Mk also is metaphorical, signifying the beginning of a new state, a new and critical experience. Elsewhere the spirit is received with baptism (AA 19:5 f; cf CONFIRMATION; GRACE). For Paul baptism is the Christian's experience of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus in himself (Rm 6:3 f; Col 1:12). Baptism symbolizes expressly not only the beginning of a new life in Christ, but also death to the old man, the old life of sin. By baptism the Christian is washed, sanctified and made righteous in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the spirit of our God (1 Co 6:11). Christ sanctifies the Church, cleansing it by the washing of water in the word (Eph 5:26). By this experience the Christian is reborn, regenerated (Tt 3:5). Baptism symbolizes and effects not only the incorporation of the Christian into Christ (Gal 3:27) but also his union with his fellow Christians as members of the one body of Christ (1 Co 12:13). The Christian is redeemed through the blood of Jesus Christ and the water of baptism (1 Jn 5:6), to which the Spirit testifies. The saving power of baptism is illustrated by the ark of Noah, in which all its passengers were saved by water (1 Pt 3:20). "Baptism on behalf of the dead," alluded to in 1 Co 15:29, is mentioned nowhere else and refers to a practice which is unknown to us. It has been suggested that at Corinth it was the custom for friends of catechumens who had died before baptism to receive baptism in their place. Such a baptism could have no validity for the deceased and actually tended to endanger the concept of baptism itself. Paul simply mentions the practice without expressing either approval or disapproval.

Barabbas (Aramaic *bar'abbā'*, "son of the father," probably a nickname). This man is mentioned in all four Gospels as the prisoner who was released instead of Jesus at the wish of the Jews (Mt 27:16 ff; Mk 15:7 ff; Lk 23:18; Jn 18:40). Mt adds the detail that it was the custom for the governor to release a prisoner of popular choice at the time of the Passover. According to the same Gospel Pilate* offered the choice to the Jews; in the other Gospels the request was first made by the Jews. Barabbas is

described as a notorious prisoner (Mt), as a revolutionary and a murderer (Lk), and as a bandit (Jn). These features are not contradictory; men who combined lawlessness with a fanatic refusal to submit to the empire of Rome appear frequently in the Jewish community in the last years before the fall of Jerusalem. His name was probably Jesus; cf variant reading Mt 27:16.

Barak (Hb *bārāk'*, "lightning," probably an abbreviated form of the name), son of Abinoam from Kedesh* in Naphtali, one of the judges* of Israel. Under the inspiration of Deborah* he assembled an army of 10,000 from Naphtali and Zebulun* and defeated Sisera* at Mt Tabor (Jgs 4:1 ff). He is mentioned among those who delivered Israel (1 S 12:11) and among those who by their faith conquered kingdoms, proved mighty in war, and put foreign armies to flight (Heb 11:32 ff).

Barbarian (Gk *barbaros*, means a non-Greek, one who does not speak Greek), the name was originally contemptuous, indicating the nonsensical sound of a foreign language; but in NT times and earlier it designated simply the non-Greek world (AA 28:2; Rm 1:14; 1 Co 14:11; Col 3:11).

Bar Jesus (Gk *bar jēsous*, from Aramaic *bar yešūa'*, "son of Jesus"), also called Elymas; a Jewish magician and false prophet of Cyprus* attached to the court of the governor Sergius Paulus*. When the governor asked Barnabas* and Paul* to preach the gospel to him, Elymas opposed them. Paul then cursed him with blindness, which may have been only temporary; and this so impressed the governor that he accepted the gospel. The name Elymas seems to be not a proper name but an Arabic name meaning seer or sorcerer (AA 13:6 ff).

Bar Jonas (Gk *bar iōnas*, from Aramaic *bar yōnāh*, "son of Jonah"), a patronymic applied to Simon Peter* (Mt 16:17).

Barley. Barley was cultivated in the Near East in the Stone Age; it was and still is a common crop. In Palestine it is planted in the autumn after the early rain has softened the ground but ripens a month earlier than wheat, usually in April (Ex 9:31; Rt 1:22; 2:17, 23; 3:2, 15). Barley is mentioned quite often as a Palestinian crop (2 S 14:30; Jb 31:40; Jl 1:11 +); Is 28:25 alludes to the skill of the planter. It was used as fodder (1 K 4:28). Barley bread is coarser than wheat bread, but the barley loaf was common (Jgs 7:13; 2 S 17:28; 2 K 4:42; Je 41:8; Ezk 4:9 ff; Jn 6:9, 13). Barley was offered

in the ordeal of the suspected wife (Nm 5:15). Barley was included in the payment made by Solomon to Hiram for work on the temple (2 Ch 2:10, 15) and in payment of Hosea for his wife (Ho 3:2). In 2 K 7:1, 16, 18 barley is sold at half the price of wheat, in Apc 6:6 at one third the price of wheat.

Barnabas (Gk *barnabas*, from undetermined Aramaic word). In AA 4:36 the name is explained as "son of consolation"; but this popular etymology can hardly be accepted. Some scholars have suggested "son of prophecy," others *bar nêbô* "son of (the god) Nebo," the Akkadian Nabu; the surname of Joseph, a Levite of Cyprus, first mentioned in AA 4:36 as selling his property and giving the money for the disposal of the apostles. It was Barnabas who persuaded the Jerusalem community to receive Paul* as a disciple (AA 9:27). Barnabas was sent from Jerusalem to investigate the community of Antioch* in Syria (AA 11:22 ff), and brought Paul from Tarsus* to Antioch. With Paul he carried the contribution from Antioch to Jerusalem during the famine (AA 11:29 f). After their return from Jerusalem with John Mark*, Barnabas and Paul were selected by the prophets and teachers of Antioch, among whom Barnabas was numbered, to carry the gospel to cities where it had not yet been preached (AA 13:1 ff). With John Mark they traveled to Cyprus*, Perga*, Antioch in Pisidia*, and the cities of Lycaonia*, where at Lystra* they were first acclaimed as gods, Barnabas as Zeus and Paul as Hermes, and then stoned out of the city (AA 14:8 ff). After they returned to Syrian Antioch the controversy concerning the observance of Jewish rites arose, and Paul and Barnabas were sent to the council at Jerusalem (AA 15:1 ff). In his own account of this journey Paul mentions that Barnabas with Peter at first refused to eat with Gentiles (Gal 2:13); but at the council Barnabas agreed with Paul in refusing to impose Jewish observances on Gentile converts. After their return to Antioch Paul wished to revisit the cities where they had preached. Barnabas wished to take John Mark, who had abandoned them on the earlier journey (AA 13:13); Paul's refusal to accept a companion who had exhibited this weakness led to a difference so sharp that they finally separated, Paul taking Silas* as a companion and Barnabas going to Cyprus with Mark (AA 15:37 ff). No more is known of the career of Barnabas. From the mention of Mark as a companion of Paul (Col 4:10), where we learn that he was a cousin of Barnabas, and Phm 24, and from Paul's praise of Barnabas in 1 Co

9:6 and of Mark in 2 Tm 4:11, we may assume that the breach with Barnabas was ultimately healed. Tertullian proposed Barnabas as the author of Heb.

Barsabbas (Aramaic *bar sâ'bâ'*, a patronymic, etymology uncertain). 1. Joseph the just, a candidate with Matthias* for the place in the Twelve left vacant by the death of Judas (AA 1:23 ff). 2. Judas, sent with Paul, Barnabas, and Silas to Antioch with the letter of the council of Jerusalem (AA 15:22).

Bartholomew (Gk *bartholomaios*, from Aramaic *bar talmi*, "son of Tolmai," a patronymic), one of the Twelve, mentioned only in the lists of the Twelve (Mt 10:3; Mk 3:18; Lk 6:14; AA 1:13). He is identified by some with Nathanael* mentioned in Jn.

Bartimaeus (Gk *bartimaios*, from Aramaic *bar timai*, "son of Timaeus," a patronymic), a blind beggar of Jericho* whose persistent requests won healing from Jesus (Mk 10:46 ff). The man's personal name is not given; the phrase "son of Timaeus" is a doublet of his Aramaic patronymic.

Baruch (Hb *bārûk*, "blessed"), companion and amanuensis of Jeremiah*. In 605 BC Baruch at Jeremiah's dictation wrote out the discourses which Jeremiah had delivered up to that date and then read the contents of this scroll to the people in the temple. He read the scroll again before the officers of king Jehoiakim* and then on their advice fled with Jeremiah. Jehoiakim had the scroll read to him and destroyed it. Baruch then wrote another scroll at Jeremiah's dictation which contained the same material as the first with a number of additions (Je 36:1 ff). Jeremiah committed the deed of sale of the property which he had bought from his cousin Hanamel* during the siege of Jerusalem to Baruch for safekeeping (Je 32:11 ff). When Baruch complained at the sorrows of his life and the miseries of his people, Jeremiah uttered for him an oracle which contained a rebuke and a promise that he himself would survive the catastrophe (Je 45:1 ff). When the survivors of the fall of Jerusalem wished to flee to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah*, Jeremiah uttered an oracle forbidding them to go. Baruch was blamed as inciting Jeremiah to deliver this oracle and was taken with the prophet to Egypt when the people fled there. No more is known of his life.

One canonical book and two apocryphal* books bear his name, none of which were written by him. The canonical book of Baruch is placed after the book of Lamentations in the Vulgate. This book is not

found in the Hb Bible and is not contained in the Protestant canon. It is preserved in the Gk Bible and is included in the canon of the Council of Trent. The book contains the following parts:

1. Introduction (1:1-14).
2. A prayer, containing a confession of national guilt and a petition for forgiveness and the expected restoration of Israel (1:15-3:8).
3. A poem in praise of wisdom, which is not intellectual speculation but is identified with the Law given to Israel through Moses (3:9-4:4). 3:37, in which wisdom is said to appear on earth and associate with men, has been thought by many scholars to be a Christian interpolation; but the phrase simply signifies the communication of the Law.
4. A poem in which Jerusalem personified addresses her children, reminding them of their past sins and encouraging them with the hope of the messianic blessings of the future (4:4-5:9).

5. The letter of Jeremiah addressed to the exiles in Babylon, a polemic against idolatry (6:1-73).

The parts of the book are not all from one author, and many scholars believe that the three principal parts of the book were written by three different authors. It is unlikely that any part of the book is earlier than the 2nd century BC or later than the end of the 1st century BC. A Hb original is most probable for the entire book. For the apocryphal books of Baruch cf APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

Barzillai (Hb *barzillai*, etymology uncertain; perhaps connected with *barzel*, iron), a man of Rogelim in Gilead* who with Shobi and Machir met David and his party at Mahanaim* with refreshments after their flight from Absalom* (2 S 17:27 ff). After the defeat of Absalom David invited Barzillai to accompany him and spend the rest of his life at court; but Barzillai refused because at the age of 80 he was too old for the pleasures of the court (2 S 19:31 ff). He permitted his son Chimham* to go and live at David's court. In his last words to Solomon* David recommended the sons of Barzillai and asked that they be permitted to remain perpetually at the court.

Bashan (Hb *bāśān*, "fertile plain"), a region in E Palestine* which lay N of Gilead*. Its boundaries lay generally from the foot of Mt Hermon on the N to the Yarmuk on the S, and from Maacah* and Geshur* on the W to Salhad in the Jebel ed Druz to the E. It included the lava field of the Lejja, about 350 sq mi of petrified lava, from which the Gk name Trachonitis was given

to the region. The region shows abundant traces of volcanic activity; the limestone which lies under all Palestine is here covered with a layer of black basalt, used for building stone in ancient and modern times. It gives the buildings of the area a distinctive appearance. The soil is a rich and red volcanic soil. The whole region is a plateau about 2000 ft high. In contrast with the area S of the Yarmuk it is not so well watered and has a more limited rainfall, but the region was and is a good grain producer. Its resources in ancient times included timber, which has now entirely disappeared, its fertile plains suitable for agriculture and even more for pasture, its building stone, and its position on important trade routes. Before the Israelite settlement the territory with its traditional 60 cities was ruled by Og*, who was defeated by the Israelites at Edrei*. Hb tradition is consistent in asserting that their conquest of Bashan preceded their settlement in W Palestine (Nm 21:33; Dt 3:1 ff; 29:6; Jos 12:4 f; 13:11). It is less consistent in its attribution of Bashan to the tribes. Bashan is attributed to half the tribe of Manasseh in Jos 13:30; 17:1, 5; 21:6; 22:7, but to Gad* in 1 Ch 5:11, 16. There were no doubt some tribal movements in the territory. Bashan was divided between two of Solomon's administrative districts (1 K 4:11, 19). Bashan, however, was probably never solidly Israelite. The Aramaeans began to move into the region during the period of the Judges, and they seem to have had firm control of Bashan by 900 bc. The fertility of Bashan is praised in the OT (Is 33:9; Na 1:4). More frequently its rich pasture is mentioned and its livestock is praised for its fatness (Dt 32:14; Je 50:19; Ps 22:13; Ezk 39:18; Am 4:1; Mi 7:14). In the Gk period various names appear for the whole or part of Bashan: Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Iturea. It was included in the kingdom of Herod and comprised the entire tetrarchy of Philip* (Iturea and Trachonitis, Lk 3:1), the only mention of the region in the NT.

Basin. A portable shallow vessel for holding liquids. Basins are mentioned in the Bible as holding water for washing (Jn 13:5), for receiving the blood of sacrificial victims (Ex 12:22; 24:6). They formed a part of the temple furniture and were used for many unspecified purposes, such as conveying libations.

Basket. Containers woven of fiber are represented frequently in ancient art. They were made in a great variety of sizes and shapes. They could be quite large, like the basket in which Paul was let down from the walls of

Damascus* (2 Co 11:33). A large number of Hb and Gk words are translated by "basket"; they indicate different types and sizes of the vessel which we cannot identify. They appear in two prophetic visions: Jeremiah's vision of the baskets of good and bad fruit (Je 24:2) and Am 8:2, where Amos plays on the word basket (*kayis*) as signifying the end (*kēs*) of Israel. They are frequently mentioned as containers of food of all kinds and as used in brickmaking (Ps 81:6).

Bath. Cf WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Bathing. In the OT bathing is mentioned most frequently in the ceremonial laws as a means of ritual purification; it is prescribed for the priests and for any one who has incurred ceremonial uncleanness (cf CLEAN). The obligation of bathing seven times in the Jordan imposed upon Naaman* is symbolic of the cleansing from his disease (2 K 5:10 ff). The bathing of infants is alluded to in Ezk 16:4. Bathing is most frequently the washing of the feet, particularly after a journey, and it was a duty of hospitality to furnish water to guests for this purpose (Gn 24:32; 18:4; 19:2; SS 5:3). This duty was sometimes performed by slaves (1 S 25:41). Bathing was sometimes if not usually done out of doors, on the roof of a house or in its inner court (2 S 11:2) or in the garden of the house (Dn 13:15). Bathing was also done in streams; the daughter of Pharaoh bathed in the Nile (Ex 2:5). David bathed and anointed himself at the end of a period of mourning (2 S 12:20); the use of perfumes and unguents was extremely common in the ancient Orient and probably was the usual substitute for bathing or followed upon it. Herodotus in the 5th century reported that the Egyptians bathed daily or several times daily; but it is impossible to determine the frequency of the practice in ancient times. In Palestine, particularly, water for this purpose was difficult to obtain in most places. In NT times similar practices prevailed, although Pharisaic interpretation of the Law had multiplied ceremonial bathing. Water was furnished the guests at a banquet for the washing of the feet (Lk 7:44). From this incident we may deduce that the good host furnished unguents. One who had bathed needed only wash his feet to be entirely clean (Jn 13:10). The elaborate public baths of Hellenistic times were unknown in Jewish cities, but such baths were always found in the Hellenistic cities of Palestine and the adjoining regions and were known to the Jews. There were also mineral springs in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea and the Sea of

Galilee which were used by Gentiles; orthodox Jews probably did not use these baths. The community of Qumran* employed numerous ablutions, most of which were ceremonial.

Bathsheba. (Hb *bat šeba*, "daughter of Sheba," perhaps a divine name?), daughter of Eliam and wife of Uriah* the Hittite*, one of David's officers. David* saw her bathing from the roof of his house and invited her to his palace and seduced her. His effort to make Uriah responsible for the paternity of her child was unsuccessful, and he ordered Joab* to station Uriah in the front line of battle to be abandoned (2 S 11:1 ff). David then married Bathsheba, but the child of the adultery died (2 S 12:15 ff). The second child was Solomon*, who succeeded David as king (2 S 12:24 ff). In David's old age, Bathsheba, at the insistence of Nathan*, who had rebuked David for his adultery, persuaded David to name Solomon as his successor (1 K 1:11 ff). Her suggestion that Solomon permit Adonijah* to have Abishag*, David's companion in his old age, in his harem was less successful (1 K 2:12 ff). In 1 Ch 3:5 she is called Bathshua, the daughter of Ammiel, an inversion of Eliam; Bathshua is either a textual corruption or a variant spelling. Three other sons of Bathsheba are mentioned in this passage. She is mentioned but not by name in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt 1:6).

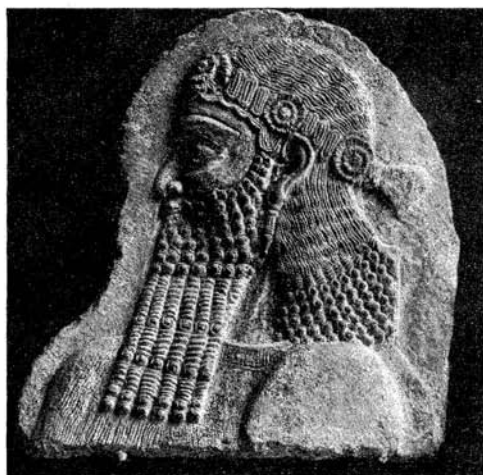
Battle. Cf WAR.

Bdellium (Hb *bēdōlah*, Gk *bdellion*), an aromatic transparent yellow gum obtained from a tree native to Southern Arabia, Babylonia, India, and Media. It is said to come from Hawilah*, a part of Arabia (Gn 2:12), and its color is compared to the color of manna* (Nm 11:7).

Bear. The bear is now practically extinct in Palestine and Syria except in remote mountain wildernesses; and it is very probable that it was nearly extinct in NT times, since it is mentioned only in Apc 13:2. In OT times the allusions to bears indicate that they were more common. They were ferocious and attacked persons as well as flocks (1 S 17:34-37; 2 K 2:24). The growling of the bear was a not unfamiliar sound (Is 59:11), and the ferocity of the bear reft of her cubs was proverbial (2 S 17:8; Pr 17:12); this image is applied to the anger of Yahweh (Ho 13:8; cf Lam 3:10). The day* of Yahweh is as dreadful as the attack of a bear (Am 5:19). The bear or its features appear in the visions of the beasts of Dn 7:5; Apc 13:2. In the peace of the messianic kingdom the bear and the cow will

feed together (Is 11:7). The size and species of the ancient Palestinian bear are not known.

Beard. The ancient Semitic peoples generally wore the full beard. The Sumerians* and Egyptians* are represented in art as clean shaven; the Egyptians wore an artificial ceremonial beard, a square cut goatee. This



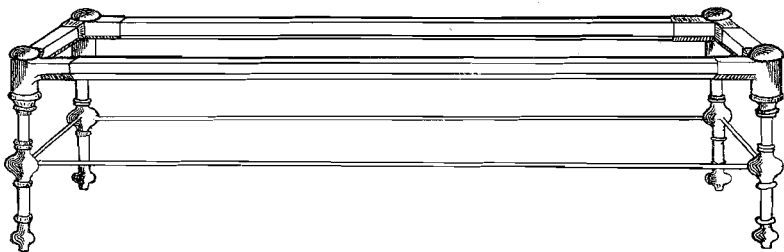
The type of beard worn by the Assyrians under Sargon II is illustrated in this bas-relief from Nimrud.

was so much a part of the royal costume that it was even worn by queen Hatshepsut. The beard was cultivated with great care by the Hebrews. It was anointed (Ps 133:2), and its neglect was a token of eccentricity or unsound mind (1 S 21:14) or of mourning (Je 41:5; 48:37). To have one's beard shaved or plucked was a great indignity (2 S 10:4; Is 50:6). The Holiness code prohibited the trimming of the "corners" of the beard (Lv 19:27; 21:5), probably for cultic reasons which are unknown. In NT times it was the custom of Jews to wear the full beard, although both Greeks and Romans were normally clean shaven in this period.

Beatitude. A technical term for a literary form found in both OT and NT. A beatitude is a declaration of blessedness on the ground of some virtue or good fortune. The formula begins "Blessed is . . ." It occurs 26 times in Pss, eight times in Pr, ten times in the other Hb books of the OT, and 13 times in the Gk books of the OT. It is associated with prayer* and with wisdom* utterances. One is called blessed for virtue or for enjoying the forgiveness, protection or nearness of Yahweh. The beatitude is common in the NT also, most frequently for faith

or for sharing in the kingdom of God. Best known are the beatitudes uttered by Jesus, eight in Mt 5:3 ff, four in Lk 6:20 ff. The beatitudes in Mt may be counted as nine if 5:11 is separated from 5:10. It is difficult to say which of the two formulae is nearer to the words actually spoken by Jesus. The first three of the beatitudes of Lk are very nearly identical with the 1st, 2nd and 4th of Mt, the last two inverted. These three beatitudes of Lk indicate those who suffer the misfortunes of poverty, hunger, and sorrow. These griefs will be removed. The 4th is identical with the 8th of Mt, persecution and hatred endured in the name of Jesus. The beatitudes of Mt have been expanded by the addition of meekness, compassion (almsgiving), purity of heart, and reconciliation; to each of the beatitudes has been added an explicit reward, which in each case is synonymous with the kingdom* of heaven of the 1st beatitude, described in terms which correspond to each beatitude. The beatitudes of Mt suppose a groundwork of Christian virtue. The difference between "poverty" of Lk and "poverty of spirit" of Mt is less than the translation leads one to believe; cf POOR. Both terms indicate the depressed classes of the ancient world, those who have no material possessions and enjoy no esteem or reputation. The beatitude addressed to those who hunger has been refined in Mt into an address to those who hunger for righteousness. In Mt the paradox of the beatitudes as stated in Lk has been somewhat softened. The paradox consists in this, that the beatitude is declared not because of some good fortune, but because of ill fortune — poverty, hunger, sorrow, and persecution. Jesus states that in these things men may be happy if they accept them as coming from their heavenly Father and in the spirit which Jesus teaches them. He thus declares that the opposite of these things — wealth, joy, fullness — have nothing to do with one's true happiness, which is to be found only in the kingdom of God and in His righteousness. But the paradox is still apparent in Mt, and the blessedness is now expanded by the addition of some difficult habits of virtue, which demand the suppression of self-love and ambition.

Bed. Beds as articles of furniture were used in Egypt from earliest times in the palaces of kings* and the wealthy. Most of these beds were made of wood, rather low, something like the modern daybed. In the New Kingdom there appear much more ornate beds, sometimes made of ivory plated with gold, and often so high that one approached them by steps. These were richly ornamented with animal and divine emblems;



Egyptian bed made with bronze fittings.

the foot is usually modeled after the foot of a lion. In Assyria there were in royal palaces beds made of wood plated with gold, silver, other metals, and precious stones. The temples contained a bedchamber of the gods, in which was found a highly ornamented couch for the reclining of the gods; probably also such a couch was found in the chamber where the sacred marriage was performed (cf NEW YEAR). In ancient Israel similar beds were possessed by the kings and the wealthy; Amos mentions corners of a bed (3:12) and beds of ivory (6:4). An imposing bronze bed frame from the Iron Age has been found in Tell el Fara, and ivory fragments from Arslan Tash which come from a wooden bed frame. Such beds are also indicated by the phrase "ascend" to one's bed. Ashur-bani-pal of Assyria is pictured as reclining on a bed while at dinner. Such beds were articles of luxury. The ordinary person slept on the ground wrapped in his cloak, or on a mat of straw. This mat could be rolled up and carried about with one. Such beds are indicated in the Gospels where those who are cured are told to pick up their bed and walk (Mt 9:6; Lk 5:24).

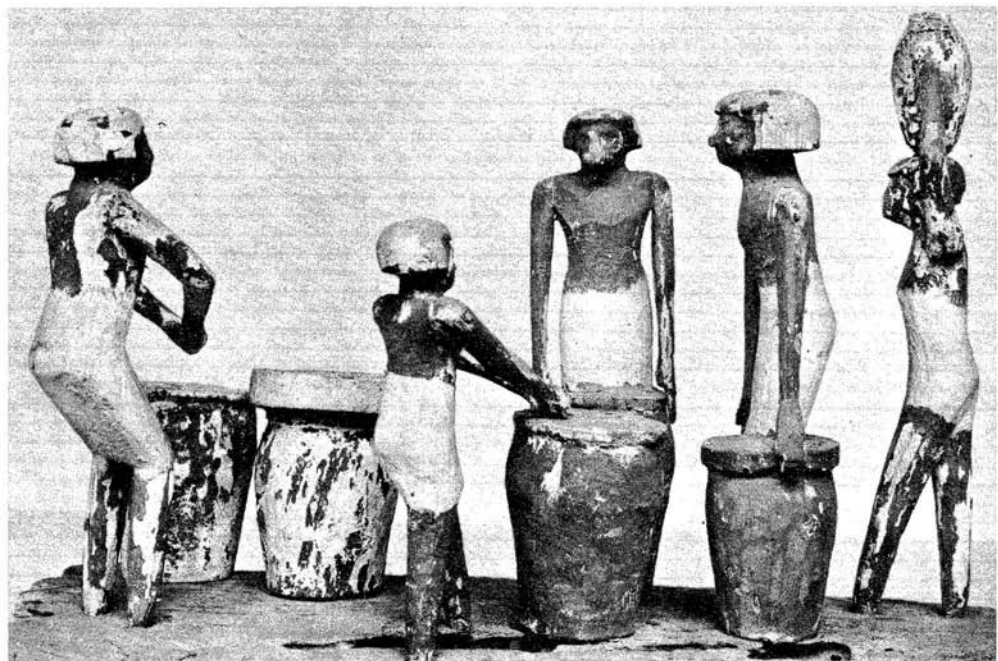
Bee. The bee is mentioned in the Bible only 4 times (Dt 1:44; Jgs 14:8; Ps 118:12; Is 7:18), although honey* is mentioned more frequently. Only Is 7:18 is possibly a reference to apiculture; the other passages clearly mean the wild bee. On the uncertainty concerning the introduction of apiculture cf HONEY. The bee cultivated in modern Palestine is smaller than the European and American species.

Beelzebub (Hb *ba'al zēbūb*, Gk *beel zeboub*), in the OT the god of the Philistine* city of Ekron*, of whom king Ahaziah* of Israel inquired during his illness (2 K 1:2 ff). In the NT it appears as the name of the demon in whose authority the Pharisees said Jesus expelled demons (Mt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15 ff). The best

Gk MSS read *beelzeboul* instead of *beelzeboub*, the reading of the Vg. The meaning of the Hb name is most easily explained as "lord of flies," which is scarcely the original title of the god; it is more probably a Hb contemptuous corruption of the divine name. This name is almost certainly correctly preserved in the NT. Beelzebub was formerly explained from the Hb word *zēbūl*, "habitation." It is now explained from the Ugaritic* *zbl*, "prince," a title frequently given to Aleyan Baal*, the fertility god of Ugarit. He is called, "prince, lord of the earth," and "prince, king."

Beer (Hb *šēkār*, cognate to Akkadian *sikaru*, is now considered to mean beer rather than distilled spirits). It is mentioned rather frequently in the OT and was apparently a common beverage (Is 24:9) which was not available in the desert (Dt 29:5). It was poured as a libation to Yahweh (Nm 28:7) and was prohibited to those under the Nazirite* vow (Nm 6:3) and to the priests before their entrance into the sanctuary (Lv 10:9). It was prohibited to the mother of Samson* before the birth of the hero (Jgs 13:4, 7, 14); in other respects she is said to lie under the Nazirite obligation. Beer was drunk at sacrificial banquets at the sanctuary (Dt 14:26). Not all the references to beer are favorable; its intoxicating qualities are mentioned (1 S 1:15; Is 29:9; 28:7) and it is with wine a beverage of drunkards (Ps 69:13; Is 5:11, 22; 56:12). It leads to quarrels (Pr 20:1) and is not the drink of rulers (Pr 31:4). "A preacher of wine and beer" is the preacher suitable to the people of Israel (Mi 2:11). Beer should be given to the perishing so that they may forget their poverty (Pr 31:6).

The technique of brewing in Israel is unknown; but it was probably not dissimilar to the techniques used in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Egyptian brewing is represented in Egyptian art (ANEP 153, 154). The beer was made from barley. The grain was made



Brewing was an art known to the Egyptians, as this scene from the Old Kingdom illustrates.

into flour and baked and the beer was produced by adding water to fermented bread.

Beeroth (Hb *b'ērôt*, "wells"?), one of the four Hivite (Horite*) cities which entered into a league with the Israelites (Jos 9:17); listed in the territory of Benjamin (Jos 18:25); the home of the murderers of Ishbaal, son of Saul (2 S 4:2-9) and of Naharai, one of David's heroes (2 S 23:37; 1 Ch 11:39). Men of Beeroth were included among the exiles who returned to Judah (Ezr 2:25; Ne 7:29). Beeroth is possibly identified with the modern village of El Bireh, in which the name survives, about ten mi N of Jerusalem near Ramallah; some prefer a location nearer to Gibeon in the valley of Beth-horon*.

Beersheba (Hb *b'ēr šeba'*), a town of the Negeb*. The name is literally "well of seven," possibly derived from the number of springs found there. Beersheba is associated with the patriarchs; it was a point on Hagar's flight from Sarah* (Gn 21:14). A covenant* settling a quarrel over water rights between Abraham* and Abimelech* is related in Gn 21:25-33; the meaning of the name is here doubly explained; from the seven (He *šeba'*) lambs of the sacrifice and from the mutual oath (Hb *šb'*) sworn between them. This must be regarded as a

popular etymology. The story of the oath with Abimelech is also told of Isaac and the derivation of the name is also related in this episode (Gn 26:31-33). Beersheba is the home at times of both Abraham (Gn 22:19) and of Isaac (Gn 26:23; 28:10); but Abraham is not really at home at Beersheba and it is quite probable that his connection with the place is secondary. Beersheba was the scene of a theophany both to Isaac (Gn 26:23) and to Jacob (Gn 46:1-5); these were connected with Beersheba as a sanctuary. It is listed both among the towns of Judah* (Jos 15:28) and the towns of Simeon* (1 Ch 4:28). Except for the mother of Jehoash* of Judah, Zibiah, who came from Beersheba (2 K 12:2; 2 Ch 24:1), and for the court held there by Samuel's sons (1 S 8:2) Beersheba does not appear in Israelite history; but it is frequently mentioned in the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" to designate the N-S limits of Israelite territory (Jgs 20:1; 1 S 3:20; 2 S 24:15; 17:11; 1 K 5:5; 1 Ch 21:2; 2 Ch 30:5) or as the S limit of the territory of Judah (2 S 24:7; 1 K 19:3; 2 K 23:8; 2 Ch 19:4). Beersheba was one of the towns of Judah settled after the exile (Ne 11:27, 30). Am 5:5; 8:14 attests that there was a sanctuary at Beersheba; and the allusions to Beersheba in the stories of the patriarchs indicate that the sanctuary was probably

older than the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan.

The name survives in the modern Bir es Seba, about 28 mi S of Hebron*; the site of the OT settlement is probably at Tell es Seba, 2½ mi E of the modern town. Beersheba lies on the frontier of the cultivated land and the steppe of the Negeb* to the S; its altitude is only about 1000 ft above sea level, and the mountains of Judah fall to an altitude of no more than 2000 ft a little to the N of Beersheba. The antiquity of the settlement and its regional importance arose from its abundant water supply, which is the only one in the neighborhood; there are no other settlements near. This oasis was a natural point of convergence for caravan routes from the desert to the markets of the central mountains and the coastal plain.

Begging. Begging as such is scarcely mentioned in the OT; but the numerous references to the poor, the stranger, the widow, and the orphan, and the recommendations to be generous in giving to them, indicate that there were many people who had to support themselves by begging. In later Judaism and in NT times begging was very common. BS 40:28 ff says it is better to die than to beg, and describes begging as an existence which cannot be called life; only the shameless man can beg. Beggars are mentioned frequently in the NT, especially those who suffered from some bodily infirmity (Mt 9:27; 20:30; Mk 10:46; Lk 18:35; Jn 9:8; AA 3:2), who asked alms by the roadside or at the temple gates. In the economic conditions of NT times, when most of the population were extremely poor, with only a slight margin between themselves and destitution, many were reduced either to begging or to selling themselves into slavery (cf POOR).

Behemoth (Hb *bēhēmōt*, pl of *bēhēmāh*, "animal"). In Eng Bibles the word is a transcription of the name of the animal mentioned in Jb 40:15 ff, identified by older interpreters as the elephant*. The passage is now recognized as a description of the hippopotamus, probably written from hearsay rather than from observation. The behemoth is mentioned by the poet as an example of the creative wisdom of God.

Bel (Hb *bēl*, Akkadian *belu*, cognate of Hb *ba'al*, "lord"), in the OT the title of Marduk*, god of Babylon* (Is 46:1; Je 50:2; 51:44). Dn 14:2 ff relates the story of the image of Bel in the temple of Babylon. In Akkadian literature the title Bel is most frequently given to Marduk, but it was actually transferred to Marduk from Enlil of

Nippur, lord of the upper air and the creative deity in an older form of the creation* epic. After the title had become proper to Marduk, Enlil is often referred to as the older Bel.

Belial. The common Eng rendering of Gk *beliar*, the reading of the Gk in 2 Co 6:15. Beliar is the name of a demon found frequently in apocalyptic* literature. It is a corruption of Hb *bēliyya'al*, a noun meaning malice or wickedness; the word is probably compounded of two words meaning, "it is of no profit." In the OT the word is often translated in Eng as a proper name, which it is not; it occurs most frequently in the combination "son of *belial*," a wicked man.

Belshazzar (Aramaic *bēlša'šsar*, from Akkadian *bel-šar-ušur*, "Bel protect the king"), according to Dn 5:1 ff; 8:1, the last king of Babylon when it was captured by Cyrus*. Dn 5:1 ff relates the story of the great banquet given by Belshazzar, at which he and his guests drank from the sacred vessels of the temple of Jerusalem. A hand appeared upon the wall writing a mysterious message which no one could interpret except Daniel. Daniel revealed that it was a threat of the end of the kingdom and its transfer to the Medes and the Persians. That very night Cyrus captured the city and Belshazzar was slain. One of Daniel's visions is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Belshazzar (Dn 8:1). The Babylonian records of this period identify Belshazzar as the son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. Belshazzar was coregent with his father and administered the capital for eight years during the absence of his father in Teima in Arabia. He was never king of Babylon; the story of his death is supported by an anecdote of Xenophon. He was the son of Nabonidus, not of Nebuchadnezzar* (Dn 5:17). The treatment of Belshazzar in Dn illustrates the legendary character of Babylon as it appears in the book. The author, who lived some centuries after the fall of Babylon, had little accurate knowledge of the history of the period, and treated it in an extremely free and imaginative style. Cf DANIEL.

Belteshazzar (Hb *bēl'tēšassar*), the Akkadian name given to Daniel in the court of Nebuchadnezzar* (Dn 1:7; 2:26; 4:5 ff; 5:12). The name probably represents Akkadian *bel-balaṣu-ušur*, "Bel protect his life."

Benaiah (Hb *bēnāyāhū*, "Yahweh has built"), son of Jehoiada and officer of David* and Solomon*. He was commander of the Cherethi* and Pelethi, the professional soldiers who formed David's royal guard (2 S

8:18; 20:23; 1 Ch 18:17). He was one of David's thirty heroes and three of his mighty deeds are mentioned in 2 S 23:20 ff; the text of these deeds is somewhat corrupted. In the last days of David Benaiah with Nathan* and Zadok* favored the candidacy of Solomon*, the son of Bathsheba*. Benaiah and the royal guard installed Solomon as king (1 K 1:8 ff, 38 ff). At the command of Solomon he executed Adonijah*, Solomon's rival candidate for the kingship (1 K 2:25), Joab* (1 K 2:28 ff), and Shimei* (1 K 2:39 ff), the last two in fulfillment of David's last will. After the death of Joab, Benaiah was appointed commander of the army (1 K 2:35; 4:4). The name is borne by six others in the OT.

Benedictus. The first word in Lt and the usual designation of the song of Zechariah* uttered after the birth of John the Baptist* (Lk 1:68 ff). The song is divided into two parts: the first (68–75) expresses thanksgiving that the deliverance promised to the patriarchs and prophets through the house of David* has now appeared; the second part, addressed to the child (76–79), calls him a prophet who will prepare the way of the Lord. The entire song is woven of OT phrases; the first part depends mostly on Pss, the second part on Is and other prophets. The song is of value as a rare monument of genuine messianism* in the generation contemporary with the Gospels.

Ben-hadad (Hb *ben-h^adad*, from Aramaic *bar h^adad*, "son of Hadad"), the name of several kings of Damascus*, two of whom are mentioned in the Bible. **1.** Ben-hadad I, who was bribed by Asa* of Judah to rescue him by invading the territory of Israel while Baasha* was invading Judah (1 K 15:18 ff). This king is called the son of Tabrimmon and the grandson of Hezion. This invasion occurred about 878 BC. It is not certain that this Ben-hadad is the same king who was defeated by Ahab* of Israel in two successive campaigns, the first when he besieged Samaria* and the second at Aphek* (1 K 20:1 ff); as a result of this campaign, a treaty was signed in which Israel was granted the same commercial rights in Damascus which the Aramaeans* had enjoyed in Samaria*. W. F. Albright dates the reign of Ben-hadad I 880–842 BC. This war must have occurred before the appearance of both Ahab and Ben-hadad at the battle of Karkar in 853 BC, in which the Assyrian advance in the west was temporarily halted. The same Ben-hadad was the commander of the Aramaean army, not mentioned by name, in the unsuccessful campaign of Ahab to recover Ramoth-

gilead*, in which Ahab was slain (1 K 22:1 ff). This battle occurred three years after the battle of Karkar. Some scholars identify the Ben-hadad of 1 K 20:1 as Ben-hadad II; recent opinion tends to eliminate this second Ben-hadad from history. The Ben-hadad who besieged Samaria (2 K 6:24 ff) cannot be identified positively, since the king of Israel in whose reign the siege occurred is not named; but it was probably Ben-hadad I. According to 2 K 8:7 ff, Ben-hadad was assassinated by Hazael*. If this were Ben-hadad I, the assassination occurred in 842 BC. The Assyrian records of Shalmaneser III* (858–824) do not mention Ben-hadad; the king of Damascus is called Adad-idri, identical with the biblical name Hadarezer*. Unless Hadarezer is supposed to follow Ben-hadad I on the throne, we must suppose that the Assyrians confused the names of two kings of Damascus, which is not entirely unprecedented in Assyrian records. Shalmaneser observes in one document that Adad-idri perished after his defeat by the Assyrians and was replaced by Hazael, "a son of nobody," on the throne; but it does not appear from the Assyrian record that he was aware of an assassination. Some scholars suggest that the name Ben-hadad in 2 K 8 is itself an intrusion.

2. Ben-hadad the son of Hazael, who was defeated three times by Jehoash* of Israel (801–786) as predicted by Elisha* (2 K 13:14 ff, 24). This Ben-hadad is most probably the king meant in Am 1:4 and Je 49:27.

Benjamin (Hb *binyāmin*, "son of the right," most probably "son of the south," southerner), son of Jacob* and Rachel* and the name of one of the 12 tribes* of Israel. Benjamin was the only of Jacob's sons born in Canaan*, at Ephrath*, and Rachel died after his birth (Gn 35:16 ff). Rachel named him Benoni, "child of my sorrow," but Jacob changed the ill omened name to Benjamin. When the brothers of Joseph* went to Egypt to purchase grain during the famine, Jacob kept Benjamin, the youngest, at home (Gn 42:3 f). But Joseph, Benjamin's only full brother, insisted that the brothers bring Benjamin as a proof of their veracity (Gn 42:15). When Benjamin arrived, Joseph was moved to tears (Gn 43:29 ff). As a test of his brothers Joseph had his silver cup put in Benjamin's sack (Gn 44:1 ff), and then accused the brothers of stealing it. Judah* responded to the test by offering himself for punishment; and this proof that the brothers had changed from what they were when they sold Joseph into Egypt finally moved Joseph to reveal himself.

A tribe of *Banu Yamina* has been found in the Mari* tablets, but this tribe has

nothing in common with the Israelite tribe of Benjamin except the name. In the Blessing of Jacob Benjamin is described as a ravenous wolf, devouring prey in the morning and dividing spoil in the evening; this is an allusion to the warlike character of the tribe, verified elsewhere in the OT (Gn 49:27). In the Blessing of Moses Benjamin is the beloved of Yahweh, on whose shoulders Yahweh dwells (Dt 33:12), an allusion to the temple of Jerusalem. In the census of Nm (probably from the time of David) Benjamin is counted as 35,400 (Nm 1:37) and as 45,600 (Nm 26:41). The clans of Benjamin are listed (Nm 26:38 ff). The boundaries of Benjamin are described and its cities enumerated (Jos 18:11 ff). Its territory lay between Judah and Ephraim*, running westward from the Jordan near Jericho* up the slopes of the central highlands as far as Kirjath-jearim* and including the five Canaanite cities grouped around Gibeon*, and Jerusalem, which were not held by the Israelites. The narrative of the invasion of Jos 2-9 takes place entirely within the later territory of Benjamin, and this has led M. Noth to affirm that the story of the invasion is an account of Benjamin's invasion which was retold so as to make it the story of the invasion of all Israel. Benjamin was reckoned as the smallest tribe of Israel in numbers (1 S 9:21; Ps 68:28), but it enjoyed some renown as a fighting tribe. Ehud*, who delivered Israel by assassinating Eglon* of Moab* in his own house, was a man of Benjamin (Jgs 3:12 ff). Benjamin was among the tribes which fought with Barak* and Deborah* against Sisera* (Jgs 5:14). Benjamin was one party of an inter-tribal war which began because the men of Gibeah* raped the wife of a Levite and thus violated the laws of hospitality (Jgs 19:1-21:25). This is the only instance in Hb history of such a unified action in defense of Hb morality, and its historical character has been questioned by many scholars. This is due in part to the fantastic numbers of the fighting men in the story, which exceed all possibility. The story has doubtless been overlaid with a number of unhistorical elements drawn from popular tradition, and the unity of all the tribes of Israel may be such an element; but there is no serious reason to question the action of the Hb community against such a flagrant crime. According to the story the men of Benjamin routed the other Israelite tribes at the first encounter. Benjamin had 700 picked men, all left-handed slingers* who could hit a hair without missing. It is a coincidence that the Benjaminite hero Ehud was also left-handed. The men of Benjamin were defeated by a stratagem, and the tribe was very

nearly exterminated. This prospect alarmed the other tribes, but they had sworn not to give their daughters in marriage to Benjamin. They circumvented the oath by allowing the men of Benjamin to seize the maidens of Jabesh-gilead, which had not taken part in the tribal war. This number was insufficient, and they permitted the remaining men to seize the maidens of Shiloh* while they celebrated the vintage festival. Saul*, the first king of Israel, was a man of Benjamin (1 S 9:1 ff), and his royal residence was at Gibeah of Benjamin. After the death of Saul, Benjamin adhered to Ishbaal* (2 S 2:9); but Abner*, after his quarrel with Ishbaal, persuaded Benjamin to submit to David (2 S 3:19). It is doubtful that Benjamin was ever completely loyal to David. Shimei* ben Gera cursed David as he fled from Absalom* (2 S 16:5). After the rebellion of Absalom had been subdued another rebellion broke out led by a Benjaminite, Sheba* ben Bichri (2 S 20:1 ff). In the division of the kingdom after Solomon Rehoboam* succeeded in retaining at least a part of the territory of Benjamin (1 K 12:21 ff). This territory was expanded by Asa* (1 K 15:22). Jeremiah* came from Anathoth* of Benjamin (Je 1:1). Men of Benjamin were included among those who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon (Ezr 1:5 +). Paul* also was a man of Benjamin (Rm 11:1; Phl 3:5).

Ben Sira. This book of the OT is also called the book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus in the Vg and RD Bibles. The latter title, meaning "used in the Church," was applied in the early Church to the entire group of books now called deuterocanonical, and has been retained by this book in particular; cf CANON. The book is not found in the Hb Bible or in the Protestant canon; but it was used in the early Church and is included in the canon of the Council of Trent. The author of the book is named in 50:27 as Jesus, son of Eleazar, son of Sirach, Hb *yēshū'ā ben 'el'āzār ben sira'*. The prologue, written by the Gk translator whose name is not given, tells us that the translator came to Alexandria* in the 38th year of king Euergetes, which is calculated as 132 BC, in the reign of Ptolemy* VII Physcon. Since he found in Egypt that a number of Jewish books had been translated into Gk, he decided to translate the book written by his grandfather as well. The date of the translation and the mention in the book of the high priest*, Simon* (50:1 ff) indicate that the book was written in Jerusalem 190-180 BC. MSS containing about two thirds of the book in Hb were discovered in the synagogue of Cairo

in 1896, and some additional fragments were discovered in 1931. More Hb fragments were discovered at Qumran*. These Hb fragments exhibit a different recension from the text of Gk, and the restoration of the original text is still an unfinished work of criticism. BS is wisdom* literature. Its author was a wise man of Jerusalem who lived in the period of the Hellenization of Palestine. To this cultural change he was opposed, and he wrote this book in order to disclose to his readers the treasures of traditional Hb wisdom, with which they could be content without seeking the novelties of Gk learning. His book resembles Pr in form and content. Like Pr, it is a compilation of detached wise sayings, which it is impossible to outline in any consecutive scheme. The wise sayings are often grouped around single topics, so that these collections somewhat resemble small essays: for example 2:1-18, admonitions of patience in tribulation; 3:1-16, admonitions of obedience and respect to parents; 4:1-10, admonitions to be generous to the needy; 6:1-17, on friendship; 9:1-13, on dealing with women; 12:30-35, on hospitality; 20:1-8, on silence; 30:33-40, on the treatment of slaves; 34:12-35:13, on conduct at banquets. Like Pr, Jb, and Ec, the book contains little poems in praise of wisdom: 1:1-20; 4:11-19; 14:20-15:8; 51:13-29. Many of the ideas of BS are the ideas of traditional wisdom. He has no theory of the origin of sin, but accepts the division of all men into the two great classes of the righteous and wicked, the wise and the foolish. His ideas of the future life do not advance beyond those of Pr. The problem of evil, which is discussed at length in Jb and also in Ec, he makes no attempt to meet. His wisdom is the traditional wisdom of skill in the management of one's life and affairs. His precepts deal with the ordinary duties and situations of ordinary life: virtues and vices such as pride and humility, the administration of wealth, self-control, the education of children, prudence and reflection, avoiding evil companions, the certain retribution of wickedness, custody of the tongue, selection and treatment of a wife. In some other respects BS is more original. Traditional wisdom, which was international in character and to some extent derived from foreign sources, did not exhibit BS's emphasis upon Israel, the covenant, and the Law. Earlier books contain no parallel to the prayer for the restoration of Israel (36:1 ff). For BS wisdom is identified with the Law. Wisdom is personified, as in Pr 8:22 ff, and represented as coming down from heaven to dwell on earth in the spot selected by the Creator. This spot is Israel, where wisdom takes up her habitation as the

Law given through the covenant of Moses* (24:1 ff). BS was indeed conscious and proud of the abilities of the man learned in the Law, the scribe*. He assesses the value of the arts and crafts (38:25 ff) and finds that while each of the crafts is necessary for an ordered society, they cannot achieve wisdom. This is the privilege of the scribe (39:1 ff), whose supremacy in wisdom is described in the most enthusiastic terms. The hymn in praise of creation (42:15-43:37) also has its parallels in earlier wisdom literature. It may be compared to Jb 38:1 ff and Ps 104. He reviews the heroes of Israel's past from Enoch* to Nehemiah* (44:1-49:19). His judgment upon the kings of Israel and Judah, except for David*, Solomon*, Hezekiah*, and Josiah*, is unfavorable without reservation. The omission of Ezra* from his list is puzzling and is not easily explained with some scholars on the basis of an ideological opposition between BS and Ezra. Dn is omitted from the list of the prophets because the book had not yet been composed. But the peak of his enthusiasm is reached in the description of Simon*, the son of Onias, the high priest, who is described in all his priestly array as he appeared in the temple at the great festivals. BS represents a phase of development in which the wise man has become the scribe, the man learned in the Law of Moses. The term of this development appears in the NT. But BS is familiar not only with the Law, but also with almost the entire OT, which must have been collected by his time substantially in the canon which is still the canon of the Jews. In his attitude toward the Law and its observance he seems to belong to that group which later became the Sadducees* rather than to the Pharisees*. He exhibits no knowledge of an oral tradition of the Law, nor does he deduce from it the meticulous obligations which were characteristic of Pharisaic interpretation.

Berea (Gk *beroea*), a city of Macedonia, founded in prehistoric times. The site is the modern Verria on the left bank of the Aliakmon (ancient Astraeus), some distance from the coast; a broad plain lies to the N of Berea and Mt Olympus rises to the S. It is about 19 mi W of Thessalonica*. The Christians of Thessalonica sent Paul and Silas hastily to Berea to escape a riot in their own city; Paul and Silas preached in the synagogue of Berea and enjoyed success until Jews came from Thessalonica to incite a riot against them in Berea also. Paul was again sent off for his own safety, and Silas and Timothy remained to continue the evangelization of Berea (AA 17:10-14). Berea was

the home of Sopater*, one of Paul's associates (AA 20:4).

The Berea of 1 Mc 9:4 is possibly Beeroth. The Berea of 2 Mc 13:4 is the Hellenistic name of Aleppo.

Bernice (Gk *bernikē*, abbreviation of *berēnikē*, a Macedonian form of *pherenikē*, "bearing victory"). 1. The daughter of the "king of the south" (Dn 11:6), not mentioned by name; Bernice, the daughter of Ptolemy* V Philadelphus, of Egypt (285–246 BC), who married Antiochus II Theos of Syria as a part of the peace treaty between Syria and Egypt. To marry her Antiochus divorced his wife Laodice. After the death of Antiochus Bernice and her son were murdered by Laodice. 2. The daughter of Herod* Agrippa I, and wife of her uncle Herod* of Chalcis. After his death in 48 BC she lived in incest with her brother Herod Agrippa* II. She was present with Agrippa when Paul* was heard before the governor Festus* (AA 25:13, 23; 26:30). Later she married Polemon, king of Cilicia*, but afterwards returned to her brother. She was later the mistress of Titus, and died about AD 79 at the age of 51.

Beth. The second letter of the Hb alphabet, with the value *b*.

Bethany (Gk *bēthania*, Hb *bēt ʿnāniyāh*, contraction of *bēt ʿnāniyāh*? "house of Ananiyah"?). 1. A village near Jerusalem, the modern el Azariyeh at the foot of the E slope of the Mt of Olives about two Roman mi from Jerusalem (Jn 11:18), which means the Jerusalem of Mt Zion; it is about four mi from the modern city. Mt 21:17; Mk 11:11f indicate that Jesus spent the nights at Bethany during His last week in Jerusalem. Bethany was the home of Lazarus*, Martha*, and Mary (Jn 11:1, 18; 12:1 ff). Mt 26:6; Mk 14:3 relate the anointing of Jesus at Bethany in the house of Simon* the leper; Jn 12:1 ff places the anointing at Bethany in the house of Lazarus; on the problem created cf MARY. Mk 11:1; Lk 19:28 place the beginning of the procession of palms at Bethany. Lk 24:50 places the ascension* on the road "toward Bethany"; but it is very probable that the summit of the mountain, where the Church of the Ascension stands, is the site intended by this designation.

2. Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John the Baptist baptized (Jn 1:28). No Bethany in the Jordan valley is known; a variant reading in some MSS shows Bethabara, also not mentioned elsewhere, but preferred by some critics ("house of the crossing"?).

Bethel (Hb *bēʾēl*, "house of El [god]"), a

town. The site lies near the modern Beitin about 14 mi N of Jerusalem. Bethel is associated with the patriarchs; there are several allusions to its earlier name of Luz. Abraham built an altar at Bethel (Gn 12:8; 13:3). Since the primary associations of Bethel are with Jacob, it is possible that the introduction of Abraham into Bethel is a secondary consideration. The great cultic legend of Bethel must have been the story of the theophany of Jacob and his erection of a standing stone (Gn 28:10 ff); this was the story of the foundation of the sanctuary. The story is a combination from J and E (cf PENTATEUCH), principally from E; this sanctuary of northern Israel was an object of particular attention in the circles which produced E. The story also credits Jacob with conferring the name Bethel; this is doubtless a popular explanation rather than a certainly genuine tradition. Gn 35:1–8 (E) contains an additional account of the erection of the sanctuary by Jacob and his dedication of his clan to Yahweh there; this also is very probably a projection of later Israelite cultic practices into an earlier period. Gn 35:9–13 contains P's account of the theophany of Bethel. While these stories are from a later period, they reflect the antiquity and the importance of the sanctuary of Bethel, which must have been one of the spots earliest associated with Israelite cultic traditions.

Bethel is mentioned in the account of the conquest of Ai (Jos 7:2; 8:9, 12, 17) but only as a geographical point of reference. This account is very probably an account of the taking of Bethel itself (cf Ai and below on archaeological data). Bethel is enumerated in the list of conquered kings (Jos 12:16). Jgs 1:22–25 relates the taking of Bethel by the house of Joseph*; here the change of the name from Luz is related to this conquest. In the tribal division Bethel lies on the frontier of Ephraim and Benjamin in the territory of Benjamin (Jos 16:1 f; 18:13, 22); 1 Ch 7:28, however, makes it the possession of a clan of Ephraim, and the town doubtless changed hands. In the late narrative of Jgs 20:18, 26; 21:2 Bethel appears as the place of assembly of all Israel; this also reflects its early cultic importance. The same appears in its inclusion among the places where Samuel held court (1 S 7:16). Jeroboam did not establish a new place of cult with his erection of a sanctuary at Bethel, but rather restored and maintained an old center (1 K 12:29–33). Abijah of Judah took Bethel from Israel (2 Ch 13:19); if this tradition is genuine, Judah did not hold Bethel long.

Bethel appears as a center of prophetic activity also; this may be deduced from the

anecdotes of prophets which center about Bethel (1 K 13), from the presence of the sons of the prophets at Bethel (2 K 2:2 f) and the connection between Elisha* and Bethel (2 K 2:23). The sanctuary was maintained by Jehu (2 K 10:29). Bethel is the object of polemics uttered by Hosea (4:15; 5:8; 10:5) and Amos (3:14; 4:4; 5:5 f), who reprobate the calf image of Bethel. Their criticisms are otherwise not specific, but the cult of Bethel appears to have become superstitious. Hosea contemptuously calls it *bêt 'awen*, "house of wickedness" (4:15; 5:8; 10:5), and this insulting title has crept into the historical books (Jos 7:2; 18:12; 1 S 13:5; 14:23). The preaching of Amos was delivered at Bethel, "a royal sanctuary," until he was expelled by the priest Amaziah* (Am 7:10 ff). After the Assyrian conquest Bethel was the residence of an Israelite priest who was sent to teach the immigrant settlers of the land "the fear of Yahweh" (i.e., the cult of Yahweh; 2 K 17:28). The sanctuary of Bethel was destroyed in the reform of Josiah* (2 K 23:15); but Je 48:13 could still refer to the shame which Israel experienced from Bethel, their confidence.

Men from Bethel were found among the exiles who returned from Babylon (Ezr 2:28; Ne 7:32), and it was one of the towns settled after the exile (Ne 11:31; Zc 7:2).

The site was excavated in 1934 under the direction of W. F. Albright and in several seasons beginning in 1954 under the direction of J. L. Kelso. The excavations revealed the interesting fact that the urban occupation of Bethel began with the destruction of the EB level of Ai. Urban occupation continued through the MB and LB periods, apparently with no major interruption, and the city was large and prosperous with some massive structures, either temples or palaces. The fortifications* were of the massive type found in all MB levels. LB occupation was ended by a destruction and almost total conflagration in the 13th century BC; this was attributed by the excavators to the Israelite conquest. The site was rebuilt and occupied in early Iron I with a decided lowering of the cultural level; this occupation was attributed to the Israelites. The occupation of the site during Iron I and II, affirmed in the literary sources, was fully confirmed by the archaeology of the site. The city was destroyed by fire in the 6th century BC, the period of the Babylonian conquest, and reoccupied in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Bethesda (Gk *bethesda*, etymology uncertain), Bethesda is found in the received text and

in Eng versions, but the name Bethzatha (Gk *bethzatha*, etymology uncertain) found in some MSS is the preferred critical reading. The name designates a pool in Jerusalem (Jn 5:2), but actually designated the name of the new N quarter of the city in NT times. The pool is the scene of the healing of the paralytic (Jn 5). Scholars accept the identification of Bethesda with an ancient cistern excavated adjacent to the church of St. Anne of the White Fathers in Jerusalem. The pool is a large double cistern over which a Byzantine church was built. There are remains of five colonnades (Jn 5:2). The cisterns themselves are dated in the Maccabean period, the colonnades in the Herodian period. The "troubling of the water" (Jn 5:7) was no doubt caused by the sudden inflow of water through drains.

Beth-horon (Hb *bêt-hôrôn*, "house of Horon [god?]", the name of two towns, distinguished as the upper Beth-horon and the lower Beth-horon; they are identified with two modern villages likewise distinguished as the upper and the lower, Beit Ur et Tahta (lower) and Beit Ur el Foqa (upper), lying respectively 11 mi and 10 mi NW of Jerusalem. The towns lie in the valley of Ajjalon*, one of the main approaches to the central highlands through the Shephelah*; they control this route and give their name to the road, called the road of the pass of Beth-horon (Jos 10:10 f). The lower Beth-horon lies about 1300 ft above sea level, the upper Beth-horon about 2000 ft above sea level. The boundary of Ephraim and Benjamin passed this point (Jos 16:3, 5; 18:13 f). 1 Ch 7:24 relates that Beth-horon was fortified by a clan of Ephraim. 1 K 9:17 relates that the lower Beth-horon was fortified by Solomon; 2 Ch 8:5 mentions both upper and lower Beth-horon. Beth-horon is included in the list of Levitical cities (Jos 21:22; 1 Ch 6:53). It appears in the list of Palestinian cities conquered by Shishak* of Egypt. It was the home of Nehemiah's enemy Sanballat* (Ne 2:10, 19; 13:28).

Bethlehem (Hb *bêt lehem*, "house of bread"? or "house of [the god] Lahm"?), the name of two towns. 1. Bethlehem of Zebulun* (Jos 19:15), the home of the minor judge Ibzan* (Jgs 12:8-10); it is identified with the modern Beit Lahm about 7 mi WNW of Nazareth.

2. Bethlehem of Judah (but strangely not included in the list of the towns of Judah in Jos). It is identified with Ephrath, the burial place of Rachel*, in Gn 35:19; 48:7; but these allusions very probably come from a date after Bethlehem was settled by an Ephrathite clan (cf below), and the Ephrath*



Bethlehem, with shepherd's field in foreground.

of Rachel's burial is to be located farther to the N. Bethlehem appears twice as the home of a Levite (Jgs 17:7-9; 19:1 ff), which suggests that it may have been a center of Levite clans. It was the home of the family of David (1 S 16:4 ff +), of David's nephew Asahel* (2 S 2:32), of Elhanan* (2 S 21:19; 23:24; 1 Ch 11:26), of Elimelech*, Naomi*, and Boaz* (Rt). Except for the anointing of David, no episode is located there except the anecdote of David's heroes who broke through the Philistine lines to bring him a drink from the spring of Bethlehem (2 S 23:14-16; 1 Ch 11:16-18). It was one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam* (2 Ch 11:6). Men from Bethlehem were included among the exiles who returned from Babylon (Ezr 2:21; Ne 7:26). At an uncertain date it was settled by an Ephrathite clan (1 Ch 2:51, 54; 4:4). Mi 5:1 glorifies it as the place of origin of the dynasty of David and therefore of the future scion of David who will rule all Israel.

Bethlehem was the birthplace of Jesus (Mt 2:1 ff; Lk 2:4 ff). Jn 7:42 suggests that this was not generally known, and some scholars have suggested that the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem is a midrashic* feature of the infancy* gospels to affirm the messianic character of Jesus. Despite certain difficulties in the story of the census* which was the occasion of the journey to Bethlehem in Lk, and the absence of Bethlehem elsewhere in the NT, there is nothing in the infancy narratives themselves or elsewhere in the Gospels to indicate that Jesus was born in any other place, and the tradition should be accepted as genuine. That He was born in a cave, however, is not found in the Gospels; this is a datum of local tradition. The region of Bethlehem has a large number of caves in the limestone which

have served even in modern times as shelters both for animals and for persons; some of these lie under the present church of the Nativity, but the identification of any one of them with the scene of the birth rests on no certain foundation.

The identity of biblical Bethlehem with the modern Bethlehem about 5 mi S of Jerusalem is not questioned. The modern city is built on a double hill and the connecting saddle ridge at an altitude of 2550 ft above sea level. The ancient city lay on the S hill, where the church of the Nativity stands; archaeological exploration of the site has never been possible. The present church was erected during the Crusades; it lies on the site of the first church of the Nativity, built by Helena, the mother of Constantine (+ 327) and the successor church built by Justinian. This was also the location of the monastery built by St. Jerome. A short distance to the SE is the large artificial cone upon which Herod's fortress of the Herodium was built.

Bethphage (Gk *bēthphagē*, Aramaic *bēth paggē*, "house of unripe figs"), a village on the Mt of Olives, the point where the procession of palms into Jerusalem began (Mt 21:1; Mk 11:1; Lk 19:29). The village lay near the summit of the mountain a short distance E of the modern Russian convent; the name survives in the modern village.

Beth-Rehob. Cf REHOB.

Bethsabee. Cf BATHSHEBA.

Bethsaida (Gk *bethsaida*, Aramaic *bēt-sayidā*, "house of fishing"?), one of the towns of Galilee cursed by Jesus (Mt 11:21; Lk 10:13), the home of Peter, Andrew and Philip (Jn 1:44; 12:21), the scene of the

healing of a blind man (Mk 8:22). The relation of Bethsaida to the "desert" nearby, the scene of multiplication of the loaves (Mk 6:45; Lk 9:10) is obscure, and Lk seems to suppose a different location of the episode from Mk.

The location of Bethsaida at the modern et Tell, 2 mi N of the Sea of Galilee and E of the Jordan, and Khirbet el Araj on the shore of the sea S of et Tell, is generally accepted. Josephus relates that Philip* the tetrarch founded his capital there and named it Julias after the daughter of Augustus. It is thought that Khirbet el Araj on the lake is the site of the original fishing village and et Tell the site of the new city built by Philip.

Beth-shan (Hb *bēt-šā'n* or *bēt-šān*, "house of [the god] šān"), an important city, located at the mound of Tell el Husn in the SE corner of the plain of Esdraelon*; the modern village of Beisan nearby preserves the ancient name. Tell el Husn was excavated under the auspices of the University Museum of Philadelphia 1921–1933. The mound was large and was built up of 79 ft of occupation debris. The earliest buildings were erected 3400–3300 bc; there were about 20 levels of occupation. The city was destroyed about 2400 bc and was rebuilt in the 15th century after a gap of 800 years in the occupation. The city became an Egyptian fortress about 1450 bc, and Egyptian control was retained until the end of Egyptian power in Palestine. The control was not absolute; the Egyptian fortress was destroyed at least twice during this period. The Egyptian city was large and wealthy and was evidently one of the most important cities of Canaan. It was a commercial center and contained a large number of imported articles. Its importance is derived from its site; it controls one of the principal roads which connect the coastal plain and the central highlands with E Palestine and Syria to the N. The Canaanite city had large temples, two of which were dedicated to Dagon* and Astarte*, which exhibited several reconstructions. In the early Israelite period it was one of the Canaanite cities which stretched across Palestine dividing Galilee* from Ephraim* and keeping the trade route in Canaanite possession. It passed under Philistine control and was destroyed in the time of David; there is no other agent to whom this destruction can be attributed, but it is not mentioned in the OT. The site lay unoccupied until the Persian period. It became a major city again with the establishment of a Gk military colony with the new name of Scythopolis, "Scythian* city"; but the origin of this name is unknown. This

was the greatest of the Gk cities of the Decapolis*. It was conquered by John Hyrcanus in 108 bc and was detached from Jewish rule by Pompey in 63 bc. The excavators found the remains of a Hellenistic* temple of the 3rd century bc.

The OT twice mentions that Beth-shan was not taken from the Canaanites by the Israelites (Jos 17:16; Jgs 1:27). It is reckoned in the territory of Issachar* in Jos 17:11, in the territory of Manasseh* in Jgs 1:27; 1 Ch 7:29; actually it lay on the border of the two tribes, and Manasseh* expanded into the territory of Issachar. When it was under Philistine control the bodies of Saul and his sons were hung on its walls and their armor was hung as a trophy in the temple of Astarte (1 S 31:10, 12); the men of Jabesh-gilead* liberated the bodies. The city was included in Solomon's 5th district, but whatever settlement was there was not on the mound of Tell el Husn. The Hb name appears Grecized in 1 Mc 5:52 and 12:40 f; it was the point where Jonathan* and Trypho* met and declared a truce. Its Gk name Scythopolis appears in 2 Mc 12:39 f; the Jews of Scythopolis attested the goodwill of the Gk inhabitants toward them. Jdt 3:10 introduces Scythopolis into its fictitious narrative.

Beth-shemesh (Hb *bēt-šemeš*, "house of the sun" or "house of [the god] Shamash"), the name of several towns. 1. A town in Naphtali retained by the Canaanites after the Israelite settlement; the site is unknown (Jos 19:38; Jgs 1:33). 2. A town on the boundary of Issachar* (Jos 19:22); it is located in the Jordan valley near Beth-shan*. 3. A town on the boundary of Judah (Jos 15:10), possibly identical with Ir Shemesh of Dan (Jos 19:41), a Levitical city (Jos 21:16; 1 Ch 6:44). It was the point to which the ark was first returned by the Philistines after its capture (1 S 6:9–20) and the scene of the defeat of Amaziah* of Judah by Jehoash* of Israel (2 K 14:11–13; 2 Ch 25:21–23). It lay in Solomon's 2nd district (1 K 4:9).

This Beth-shemesh is identified with Tell er Rumeileh near the modern Ain Shems, which preserves the name, in the Wadi Sarar (the biblical valley of Sorek*) about 15 mi W of Jerusalem. It was excavated by Duncan Mackenzie in 1911–1912 and by Elihu Grant in 1928–1933. The town was founded near the end of the EB Age, about the same time as Bethel, and flourished at its greatest 1500–918 bc. The city was destroyed by the Babylonians in 587 bc and was not reoccupied. It is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts of the 19th cen-

ture BC. Excavation disclosed that the material culture of the Israelite period was very similar to the material culture of Philistine sites; Beth-shemesh lay on the border of Israelite and Philistine territory and the superior culture of the Philistines was influential. Some large houses* of wealthy nobles, consisting of several rooms around a court, were built in the LB Age. One large palace-citadel was identified by the excavators as the residence of Solomon's governor; it had very thick walls, long high-roofed rooms for storage of grain, and was erected on an earthen platform at first 105 ft square, later enlarged to 256 ft. The citadel, however, was built in David's reign, which suggests that David installed district governors before Solomon did. The site contained large oil presses of a size which seems to suit commercial rather than private operations, a stone lined silo 23 ft in diameter and 19 ft deep, and a small copper smelting furnace. The fortifications*, attributed to David's time, consisted of casemate walls.

Bethuel (Hb *bē'û'ēl*, meaning uncertain, perhaps *mē'û'ēl*, "man of God"?). Son of Nahor* and cousin of Abraham* (Gn 22: 22 ff) and father of Rebekah* and Laban*. Since he does not appear in the story of the wooing of Rebekah (Gn 24:1 ff), it is assumed that he was dead when this episode occurred.

Bethulia (Gk *baitoulia*), the home of Judith* and the scene of the defeat of Holofernes*. The city cannot be identified with any biblical name or any known site, and the geography of the book, like its historical background, is probably fictitious. The author represents the town as located opposite Esdraelon* facing the plain near Dothan* (Jdt 4:7).

Beth-zur (Hb *bêt-šûr*, etymology uncertain), a town of Judah (Jos 15:28), settled by a clan of Caleb* (1 Ch 2:45), fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11:7), the center of a district of postexilic Judah (Ne 3:16), the scene of the defeat of Lysias* by Judas* (1 Mc 4:29; 2 Mc 11:5). It was apparently only after this battle that Beth-zur was fortified by Judas (1 Mc 4:61; 6:7, 26, 31), principally against Idumean* incursions. The fortress changed hands during the following years. The Jewish garrison was forced to evacuate the post because of failure of provisions (1 Mc 6:49 f) and Beth-zur was occupied by Seleucid forces, including some Jews who were members of the faction opposed to the Hasmoneans (1 Mc 10:14). Beth-zur was fortified again by Bacchides* (1 Mc 9:52) and was taken by Simon* after

a siege (1 Mc 11:65 f; 14:7); Simon again fortified it.

Beth-zur is identified with Khirbet et Tubeiqua, about 5 mi N of Hebron (the figure of 5 *schoenae* from Jerusalem, about 150 *stadia* [cf WEIGHTS AND MEASURES] is an error). The site was excavated by O. R. Sellers in 1931 and 1957. No occupation was assured before the 17th century BC; but in the Hyksos period, 17th-16th centuries, occupation was intense, although the area is not large. The city was defended by massive walls of the Hyksos type (cf FORTIFICATIONS), well enough built to be remodeled and reused in the Gk period. The site was apparently abandoned during the LB period and reoccupied about 1200 BC; the fortifications were strengthened during the Iron I period, but no trace of the fortifications ascribed to Rehoboam appeared. The site was occupied in Iron II and abandoned for an undetermined period after the 6th century. Abundant traces of fortification and occupation during the Gk period were evident. In the later part of the Gk period the territory must have been quite peaceful, as occupation spread well outside the walls. The site was abandoned about the beginning of the 1st century BC or perhaps even later in the century.

Beulah (Hb *bē'ûlāh*, lit "married woman"), a name applied to the land of Palestine to signify its restoration under the figure of marriage with Yahweh after the exile (Is 62:4).

Bezaleel (Hb *b'sal'ēl*, "in the shadow of El"?), the son of Uri, the son of Hur, a skillful craftsman in metal, stone, and woodwork, appointed with Oholiab to make the furniture of the tabernacle* (Ex 31:1 ff; 35:30 ff).

Bezek (Hb *bezek*, etymology uncertain), a town ruled by the Canaanite king Adoni-bezek*, defeated by Judah (Jgs 1:4 f); the point where Saul mustered the men of Israel for his campaign against the Ammonites (1 S 11:8). Bezek is identified with Khirbet Ibbizq, N of Shechem and S of Mt Gilboa*; this suits Saul's rally, but not the campaign of Judah. Bezek has very probably entered the text of Jgs 1:4 ff by corruption, and its presence is responsible for the alteration of Adoni-zedek to Adoni-bezek; the story of Adoni-bezek must be a variant of the story of Adoni-zedek* of Jerusalem.

Bible (Lt *biblia*, Gk *biblia*, plural of *biblion*, "book" [diminutive], from *byblos*, papyrus*). The name, "the books" without quali-

fication, indicates the special position which these books occupied, and also shows that the Bible is a collection or a library rather than a single literary composition. The books of the Bible are called "sacred," because they are written under divine inspiration*, and "canonical," which signifies that they are enumerated in the authentic list of sacred books called the canon*. The Bible is divided into Old Testament and New Testament; the word testament (Lt *testamentum*) here signifies Gk *diathēkē*, Hb *b'rit*, "covenant*" and indicates the central fact of salvation, the old covenant of Sinai* and the new covenant of Jesus Christ. The OT books are divided into historical, didactic, and prophetic; but the literary* forms of the biblical books are much more numerous than this. The NT was written in Gk and the OT in Hb, with the following exceptions: 2 Mc, WS and Dn 13 (Susanna) and 14 (Bel) were written in Gk; Jdt, Bar, BS, 1 Mc were written in Hb but are preserved in Gk (extensive fragments of Hb BS, however, have been recovered since 1896). The Qumran texts suggest that Tb may have been written in Aramaic. Je 10:11; Ezr 4:8-6:18; 7:12-26; Dn 2:4-7:28 are in Aramaic. The Hb Bible was divided into verses and into sections for synagogue reading before the Christian era. The modern division and numeration of chapters is generally attributed to Stephen Langton (+ 1228), professor at Paris and later Archbishop of Canterbury; he perhaps employed an existing division. The modern numeration of verses in the OT was made by Sanctes Pagnini, O.P., in his Lt Bible of 1528; the Paris printer Robert Etienne adopted the numeration of Pagnini and himself numbered the verses of the NT in his edition of 1555. The Bible was first printed (Lt) by Gutenberg (Mainz, 1450); over 100 editions appeared before 1500.

The Catholic Church regards the Bible as the word of God, a source of revealed doctrine and a part of the rule of faith. The Church receives her faith from the Bible and from tradition, which is the living teaching authority of the Church as it has existed from its foundation by Jesus Christ. It is the Church which defines the Bible as the word of God and determines the canon of the sacred books; hence theologians call the Bible the remote rule of faith as distinguished from tradition, the proximate rule of faith. Cf also INTERPRETATION; TEXT; VERSIONS; articles on separate books.

Biblical Commission, Pontifical. By the Apostolic Letter *Vigilantiae* of Oct 30, 1902, Leo XIII established a Commission for the promotion of biblical studies and their pro-

tection from error. The Commission was to consist of a Council of members drawn from the college of Cardinals; these were to be assisted by Consultors to be selected from reputable biblical scholars of every nation. By the Apostolic Letter *Scripturae Sanctae* of Feb 23, 1904, Pius X granted the Commission the faculty of examining candidates and conferring degrees in Sacred Scripture. By the Motu proprio *Praestantiae Sacrae Scripturae* of Nov 18, 1907, Pius X declared that the decisions of the Commission have the same authority as the decrees of the sacred Congregations; they oblige the faithful not only to external submission, but also to internal assent. From 1905 to 1915 the Commission published 14 responses, and only 5 since 1915. As a general rule the Commission speaks only in answer to questions proposed.

The Commission was established at the time when Catholic biblical studies had been deeply affected by the errors of Modernism and the responses of 1905-1915 were directed against these errors. Since that time Catholic biblical studies have taken a more definite form and the work of the Commission has been less to correct error and more to encourage scientific work. It is against this background that its responses are to be understood. The Commission has rarely decided a strictly exegetical or critical question. The Church believes in a twofold authorship of the Bible, divine and human, and consequently in a twofold interpretation, authentic, uttered by the Church alone, and scientific, reached by scientific methods. The Church speaks in order to protect her dogmas and the faithful and to restrain scientific work not only from error but also from unduly hasty and ill-founded hypotheses. Consequently, the responses more frequently deal with the certitude of various hypotheses, or indicate lines of study which the Catholic exegete cannot fruitfully pursue. Its responses are not irreformable and are subject to revision by the Commission itself.

Bildad (Hb *bildad*, etymology uncertain), the Shuhite, one of Job's three friends (Jb 2:11).

Bilhah (Hb *bilhāh*, etymology uncertain), slave given to Rachel* by Laban* when Jacob married Rachel (Gn 29:29), substituted for Rachel because of her barrenness (Gn 30:3; cf MARRIAGE), the mother of Dan* and Naphtali* (Gn 30:5 ff). Later she had incestuous relations with Reuben*, son of Jacob and Leah* (Gn 35:22), alluded to in the curse addressed to Reuben in Gn 49:4.

Birthright. Cf FIRSTBORN.

Bishop (Gk *episkopos*, "overseer"), in classical Gk used to designate an inspector, municipal officials, temple supervisors; in LXX used to translate Hb words for military officers, overseers of workmen, temple supervisors, tribal officers. The apostolate is called the office of an *episkopos* (Judas, AA 1:20) in a quotation of Ps 109:8; the office is a "good work" (1 Tm 3:1). Paul, addressing the presbyters* of Ephesus (AA 20:17), calls them "bishops," appointed by the Holy Spirit to care for the flock of which they are shepherds (AA 20:28). They are distinguished from the deacons* (Phl 1:1). Jesus Himself is called "the shepherd and bishop of souls" (1 Pt 2:25). The same officers are called "leaders" (Gk *hēgoumenoi*, Heb 13:17); they guard the souls of the flock, for which they must render an account. The "leaders" of Hb 13:7, who announced the gospel and ended their lives keeping the faith, are more probably the apostles. The qualities of a bishop are enumerated in 1 Tm 3:1-8; Tt 1:6-9; they are called presbyters in Tt 1:5. Titus is to appoint them at Crete. These texts indicate that the apostles appointed these officers to govern the churches which they founded. There is a clear distinction between bishops and deacons, but no clear distinction between bishops and presbyters. AA 20:17 and Tt 1:5 suggest that the bishop-presbyters formed a college. The institution of the monarchical episcopate, in which each church is governed by a single bishop, does not appear in the NT. Most probably the supreme government of each church rested in the apostle who founded it, and under whom the local bishops administered its affairs. Since churches appear under a single bishop before the end of the first century (e.g., Ignatius of Antioch) it is easily assumed that one of the college was elected to succeed the apostle after his death as the monarchical head of the church.

Bithynia (Gk *bithynia*), a region in the NW of Asia Minor, stretching along the coast of the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea from Mysia to Pontus. Bithynia was a satrapy of the Persian Empire; it attained its independence after the conquest of Alexander but became a satellite kingdom of the Romans in 190 BC. Nicomedes III willed the territory to the Romans in 74 BC and with Pontus it was constituted a Roman province. Paul and Silas wished to enter Bithynia on Paul's second journey, but "the spirit of Jesus did not permit them" (AA 16:7). The Christians of Bithynia and the provinces of Pontus, Galatia*, Cappadocia*, and Asia* are addressed in 1 Pt 1:1, but the evangeliza-

tion of Bithynia is not related. Two cities of Bithynia were later seats of ecumenical councils, Nicaea (325) and Chalcedon (451).

Bitumen. Mineral pitch or asphalt, produced by the native mixture of hydrocarbons, oxygenated a thick dark substance which varies from solid to semiliquid. Species of bitumen are designated by the following Hb words: *kōper*, used for calking boats (Gn 6:14); *hēmar*, found in pits near the Dead Sea* (Gn 14:10), used for mortar (Gn 11:3) and to construct the basket in which Moses was placed (Ex 2:3); *zepet*, also used in Ex 2:3, and in figure in Is 34:9: the rivers of Edom will be turned to pitch, and the land will become flaming pitch. There are heavy deposits of bitumen near the Dead Sea and detached masses often float upon its surface; hence it was called Asphaltitis by the Greeks and Romans.

Blasphemy (Gk *blasphēmia*), abusive or contemptuous language directed toward God* or sacred things. In the Holiness code blasphemy was punished by stoning (Lv 24:16). David's adultery and murder were blasphemous (2 S 12:14); (the ancient Jewish editors inserted the word "enemies" to protect the sanctity of the divine name), making "you have utterly scorned the Lord" "you have utterly scorned the enemies of the Lord." The robber and the wicked blaspheme (Ps 10:3, 13). Disbelief in God's promises is blasphemy (Nm 14:11, 23; 16:30), as is the unbelief which thinks Him powerless or accepts other gods (Is 1:4; 5:24). The enemy of Israel blasphemes by thinking that Yahweh cannot deliver His people (Ps 74:10, 18). Infidelity to the covenant is blasphemy (Dt 31:20). The defeat of Israel causes the name of Yahweh to be blasphemed as unable to deliver (Is 52:5). The messianic claims of Jesus (Mt 26:65; Mk 14:64) and His assertion of power to forgive sins (Mt 9:3; Mk 2:7; Lk 5:21) were called blasphemy. The insults addressed to Jesus on the cross are called blasphemy in the Gospels (Mt 27:39; Mk 15:29; Lk 23:39), as well as the charges of the lying witnesses (Lk 22:65). Jesus' claim to be one with the Father was treated as blasphemy (Jn 10:33 ff). The "blasphemy against the Holy Spirit" was the attribution of Jesus's exorcisms to diabolical power (Mt 12:31; Mk 3:28 ff; Lk 12:10). This blasphemy is the one sin which is not forgiven, not because of a lack of God's mercy but because it takes away the principle which makes it possible for a man to ask forgiveness. Stephen was accused of blasphemy (AA 6:11). The refusal of the Jews to accept the gospel was blasphemy (AA 13:45; 18:6),

and Paul before his conversion tried to compel Christians to curse Christ (AA 26:11). He calls himself a former blasphemer (1 Tm 1:13). Paul elsewhere adopts the Jewish idiom and warns Christians to conduct themselves so that "the name of God may not be blasphemed" because of their faults (1 Tm 6:1; Tt 2:5). In Judaism and to some extent in Christianity also blasphemy was understood to mean not only abusive language toward or about God, but also abusive language about sacred persons or things. Warnings in the Epistles against blasphemy occur in Eph 4:31; Col 3:8; 1 Tm 6:4.

Bless, Blessing. 1. *In OT.* Blessing is conceived as a communication of life from Yahweh. With life come vigor and strength and success, which bring one peace of mind and peace with the world. Yahweh Himself is the only one who can bless; men bless by wishing and praying that Yahweh will bless. This wish is particularly effective when it is uttered by a person of authority, such as the priest, the king, or the head of a family; here the person who possesses a blessing transmits it to another. The effect of the blessing most frequently mentioned is fertility, whether in men, animals, or crops. In the first creation account God blesses birds and fish (Gn 1:22), men (Gn 1:28; 5:2); it is probable that an earlier form of the story included a blessing of animals. In each of these blessings there is a command to be fruitful and multiply. God blessed the seventh day (Gn 2:3), i.e., made it a source of blessing. After the Deluge* God blessed Noah* and his sons, again with a command to be fruitful and multiply. The patriarchs were blessed: Abraham (Gn 12:2-3), Isaac (Gn 26:3-4), and although the word is not used of Jacob in Gn 28:13 ff, the formula is otherwise the same: the result of the blessing will be an innumerable progeny. Jacob was blessed in his encounter with the heavenly being at Peniel* (Gn 32:29), and was himself a medium of blessing for Laban (Gn 30:27, 30). Joseph also was a medium of blessing for Potiphar and his house (Gn 39:5). The clan of Abraham will be a formula of blessing for all nations (Gn 12:3; 18:18; 22:18; 28:14); the phrase may possibly mean that the patriarchs and their descendants will be a medium of blessing, but it is now more commonly understood to mean that the nations of the earth will ask that God bless them as He blessed Abraham. The people Israel, with Egypt and Assyria, will be a blessing in the midst of the earth (Is 19:24). The people Israel is blessed above all people (Dt 7:14) in the fertility of its

cattle. In Dt the blessing is often represented as the recompense for the observance of the law of Yahweh (11:26 ff; 15:4, 18).

The solemn formula of blessing is uttered by a person who in some capacity represents God. Noah blesses his sons Shem and Japhet (Gn 9:26-27). The blessing of the father conferred upon his firstborn was a formula of vital importance, as may be seen in the blessing stolen from Esau by Jacob (Gn 27:28-29), which invokes fertility upon him and power to rule his family and others. By the blessing the father communicates his own life, strength and authority to his son. In this passage also appears the conception of the blessing and other solemn utterances as entities endowed with a vital reality; once the blessing is spoken, it cannot be recalled or annulled. Balaam* must bless Israel, even though he has been hired to curse them; for Yahweh has blessed Israel and the power of this blessing repels a curse (Nm 23:8, 20). Jacob blesses the sons of Joseph (Gn 48:15 f), wishing a numerous progeny and conferring the rights of the firstborn upon Ephraim*; the blessing was usually if not always accompanied by the imposition of hands, through which the blessing flowed from one person to another. The blessings of Jacob upon his sons and of Moses upon the tribes of Israel (Dt 33:1 ff) are not exact illustrations of the formula of blessing; they are artificial compositions which allude to the fates of the individuals or the tribes. In both poems Joseph is blessed with fertility, and in the blessing of Jacob Judah receives the power to rule. A solemn blessing upon Israel is uttered by Moses in Dt 28:1 ff with a corresponding curse*; again fertility is a dominant motif. David blessed his house after the enthronement of the ark* in Jerusalem (2 S 6:20), and Solomon blessed the entire people after the dedication of the temple (1 K 8:14, 55). The priestly blessing of Nm 6:22 ff is still employed in Jewish liturgy.

God blesses man, but man does not bless God; however, God is blessed frequently in Hebrew prayer, especially in the Pss. To bless God is to thank Him and to acknowledge His power and glory; the phrase, "Blessed be Yahweh" is usually a recognition of some benefit conferred by God or men. To bless in common speech comes to mean to greet; blessings were invoked not only by authorized persons, but also by one Israelite upon another at meeting; Boaz* greets his workers, "May Yahweh be with you," and they respond, "Yahweh bless you" (Rt 2:4).

2. *In NT.* Blessing is understood much as in the OT. In the Gospels it is rare. Jesus blesses the food in the miracle of the multi-

plication of the loaves (Mt 14:19; Mk 6:41; 8:7; Lk 9:16), the institution of the Eucharist* (Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22), and the supper of Emmaus (Lk 24:30), and blesses the apostles at the ascension (Lk 24:50). The evangelical precept to return a blessing for a curse (Lk 6:28) is repeated and expanded by Paul (Rm 12:14). Mary is called blessed among women (Lk 1:28, 42) and the Benedictus* is a hymn of blessing, i.e., thanksgiving (Lk 1:64 ff). The "cup of blessing" (1 Co 10:16, a term derived from the Jewish Passover* rite) is probably not merely the cup which is blessed, but rather the cup in which is a blessing, a gift of God. The OT formula "Blessed be God" is frequent in the Epistles, and the "blessing" most frequently means salvation through Christ.

Blindness. Blindness was and is extremely common in the Near East. The Bible recognizes only two forms of blindness: (1) ophthalmia, a highly infectious disease which is aggravated by the glare of the sun, dust and sand in the air, and lack of sanitation. In its milder form it makes the eyes red and weakens the vision, as was probably the case with Leah* (Gn 29:17). (2) senile blindness, mentioned of Isaac* (Gn 27:1), Eli* (1 S 3:2) and Ahijah* (1 K 14:4). Blindness disqualified a man from the priesthood (Lv 21:18), and a blind animal was not to be offered in sacrifice (Dt 15:21). Blinding as a punishment was inflicted on Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25:7) and is mentioned twice in the code of Hammurabi; it does not appear in Hb law. The law prescribes kindness and assistance to the blind and forbids putting a "stumbling block" in their path (Lv 19:14; Dt 27:18) and among Job's works of kindness is mentioned that he was "eyes for the blind" (Jb 29:15). Jesus cured the blind three times: at Bethsaida (Mt 9:27 ff; Mk 8:22), at Jericho (Mt 20:30 ff; Mk 10:46 ff; Lk 18:35 ff), and the man born blind at Jerusalem (Jn 9:1 ff). The blind and dumb man of Mt 12:22 ff is probably a doublet of the dumb man in Lk 11:14. Jesus mentions cure of blindness as one of the signs of His messianic mission (Mk 11:5; Lk 7:22).

Blindness is a metaphor for lack of spiritual insight (Is 42:19; 29:18; 56:10; Rm 2:19; 2 Co 4:4; 2 Pt 1:9; 1 Jn 2:11; Apc 3:17), and the messianic salvation is described as light to the blind (Is 35:5; 42:16, 18; 43:8; Je 31:8, cf Ps 146:8). The Pharisees are blind leading the blind (Mt 15:14; Lk 6:39). The temporary blindness mentioned in Gn 19:11; 2 K 6:18 ff is designated by a different Hb word and is described as a psychic rather than a physical loss of

vision; also cf AA 13:11. The blindness which afflicted Paul seems to have been physical and not merely psychic (AA 9:8, 18), but it cannot be identified with any known disease.

Blood. In the OT blood is the life of the living being (Gn 9:4; Dt 12:23). Man and other animals are composed of "flesh and blood." For this reason the eating of blood is prohibited (Gn 9:4; Lv 17:10 ff); life is conferred by God and is under His dominion. This prohibition was retained in the apostolic Church (AA 15:20). To take life is to shed blood, and it is avenged by the shedding of blood (Gn 9:6; cf AVENGER). The blood of the murdered man cries out from the ground (Gn 4:10) and must be atoned for, literally "covered" (Dt 21:9 +). If blood were not shed in killing (Gn 37:22) or if it were not permitted to run upon the ground (Jgs 9:5) it could be thought that blood-guilt would not follow. The conception of a family having one blood does not appear.

In the sacrificial ritual the blood represents the life and was symbolically offered to God, represented by the altar; it was dashed at the base of the altar (Lv 1:5 +) or sprinkled before the sanctuary (Lv 4:6 +) or poured at the base of the altar (Lv 4:7 +) or smeared on the horns of the altar (Lv 4:25 +). If an animal were eaten away from the sanctuary, the blood must be poured on the ground (Dt 12:24). The blood of the Passover* lamb smeared on the doorposts protected the Israelites from the angel of death in Egypt* (Ex 12:7, 13). In the covenant* ritual the blood of the victims was dashed on the altar, representing God, and on the people, signifying that the covenant partners share a common life (Ex 24:6 ff).

The blood of the Eucharist* in the NT is a departure from Hb ideas in that the blood of Jesus is proposed as drink (Mt 26:27 ff; Mk 14:23 ff; Lk 22:20; Jn 6:53 ff; 1 Co 11:25 ff). The sacramental significance, however, follows Hb patterns, since the blood is again the life which is communicated from Jesus to His disciples through the Eucharist (Jn 6:53 ff; 1 Co 10:16). The blood of the Eucharist is the blood of the new covenant in all the formulae of institution, an allusion to Ex 24:8; in Mt and Mk it is also an atoning agent, like the blood of the sin and guilt offerings; cf SACRIFICE. The blood of Jesus as a sacrificial atoning agent is much more explicit and frequent in the Epistles. He is a propitiatory offering in His blood (Rm 3:25), through which we are made righteous (Rm 5:9). We are redeemed through His blood (Eph 1:7) and through it we draw near to God (Eph 2:13), and by His blood He has made peace (between

man and God; Col 1:20). The contrast and analogy between the blood of Jesus and the blood of sacrificial victims is drawn out at length in Heb. His blood excels that of animals (Heb 9:12 ff). Blood is the only effective agent of purification (Heb 9:20 ff) and of the remission of sins (9:22). But the blood of animals cannot remove sins (10:4); Christ has effected eternal redemption* by His own blood (9:12), through which we have access to the sanctuary (10:19). The blood of the new and eternal covenant (13:20) calls more loudly for forgiveness than the blood of Abel called for vengeance (12:24). His blood is sprinkled upon us (1 Pt 1:2); it is the blood of the innocent lamb (1 Pt 1:19), it purifies us (1 Jn 1:7) and delivers us from our sins (Apc 1:5). He purchases men with His blood (Apc 5:9), and by His blood the saints have conquered (Apc 12:11).

Boanerges (Gk *boanerges*, probably Hb *bēnē reḡēš*, "sons of thunder," as explained in Mk 3:17), a nickname given by Jesus to James* and John*, the sons of Zebedee*, which suggests an impetuous temper.

Boar. The wild boar is mentioned in the Bible only in Ps 80:14. It is found in the thickets of the Jordan valley in modern times and was probably much more common in ancient days. In Mesopotamia the wild boar was hunted for sport by Assyrian kings.

Boaz (Hb *bōʿaz*, etymology uncertain). 1. Kinsman of Naomi*, a wealthy landowner of Bethlehem, who married Ruth* (Rt 2:1 ff); an ancestor of David. 2. The name of one of the two columns which stood before the temple* of Solomon* (1 K 7:21).

Body. Hb has no word for body except to designate a corpse; in Israelite thought the body is not conceived as a unified totality but rather as a collection of parts and organs which are the seat of psychic activities (cf MAN; articles on separate bodily organs). In the NT the Gk word *sōma* appears in contexts which can scarcely be translated into Hb or Aramaic; this is a result of the influence of Gk thought patterns and idiom.

1. *In the Gospels.* In the Gospels the body is not a psychological or a theological conception of primary importance. It is illuminated by the eye*, which signifies the intention (Mt 6:22; Lk 11:34); if the eye has light*, it communicates light to the whole body. It is much more important than food (Mt 6:25; Lk 12:22 f); here the body is parallel with life* and is conceived almost

as the self. It is distinguished from the soul* in Mt 10:28; Lk 12:4; the death of the body is less to be feared than the destruction of soul and body by the punishment of God. The life of the body is not the totality of human life, for man survives in the resurrection of the body; but if by sin* he loses his soul, the hope and principle of resurrection is lost. (On the body of Jesus identified with bread cf EUCHARIST.)

2. *In Paul.* In the other NT writings the body becomes an important psychological and theological concept only in Paul. The first meaning of body is the concretely existing human being; in some contexts it again appears to be nearly synonymous with self (Rm 6:12 f; 8:10?; 1 Co 6:18 f), but "body" and "soul," both used for "self," have different emphases. The body is the totality rather than the conscious self, and the corporal constituent of human life never disappears from sight. Sexual sins in particular dishonor the body (Rm 1:24); by these one sins against his own body (1 Co 6:18 f). The body is "the body of death," the mortal body (Rm 7:24), from which man is delivered through Jesus Christ. The death of the body is the result of sin (Rm 8:10); but the spirit survives this death through righteousness. The body can be described as synonymous with flesh* in Rm 8:13; sins are the deeds of the body, which must be slain by the spirit in order to insure life. But flesh is normally distinguished rather as a quality of the body in its concrete existence; by union with Christ the flesh is put to death permanently, but the body will rise to a new life (cf below). Here also, however, Paul's pattern is not completely consistent; for existence in the body means that one is absent from the Lord, and one must abandon the body in order to be present with the Lord (2 Co 5:6, 8). The body therefore as existentially identified with the flesh is to be beaten and subdued (1 Co 9:27).

The body, unlike the flesh, is the object of transformation and not of death. "The body of sin," which is the flesh, is destroyed when the old man is crucified with Christ; here one notices the identification of the body with the body of Christ, a dominant theme in Paul's conception of the body. Although the body is mortal, God confers life upon it through His indwelling Spirit (Rm 8:11); and the adoption* of sons is the redemption of the body (Rm 8:23). The body therefore is to be presented to God as a living and acceptable sacrifice (Rm 12:1). It belongs to the Lord, as the Lord belongs to the body (1 Co 6:13); this remarkably strong statement of the union of the body with the Lord presupposes Paul's

teaching on the identity of the Christian with Christ precisely as one body (cf below). One who suffers for Christ bears the marks of Jesus in his body (Gal 6:17). The body will be transformed from its lowly condition to the glorious condition of the risen body of Christ (Phl 3:21); for the life which it receives demands a fulfillment like the fullness of life conferred upon Jesus through His death and resurrection. The body of the Christian, which shares the experience of Christ's death and resurrection, must share the fullness of His glory. Hence Paul draws out this necessity in 1 Co 15:35-44 in speaking of the resurrection. In answer to the question what kind of body will appear in the resurrection, he points out that bodies differ in species, and that even within the same species a remarkable transformation is effected through the process of growth. This furnishes an analogy for the conferring of the life of glory upon the mortal and the corruptible body, the body of death and sin. The body become imperishable, it receives glory, it becomes a spiritual body, not after the image of the first man but after the image of the heavenly man, Christ. It must be transformed, because flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. Basic to this argument is Paul's conviction that unless man rises as a body, he does not live at all; for the body is the totality of concrete human existence, and it must experience what appears impossible, a transformation which without destroying it gives it the qualities of the heavenly man. The example and the pledge of this is the transformation and the glorification of the body of the risen Jesus.

Implicit in this argument is the identification of the body of the Christian with the body of Christ; and this identification is explicit elsewhere. The Christian has died to the law through the body of Christ (Rm 7:4); he has experienced the bodily death of Jesus in his own body, otherwise Paul could not conceive the liberation of the Christian as genuine. In this union the Eucharist* is a basic principle; when the Christian eats the bread of the Eucharist he shares in the body of Christ; indeed, Christians become one body, which is the body of Christ, for there is one bread and one body (1 Co 10:16 f). He who eats and drinks the sacrament unworthily profanes the body of the Lord (1 Co 11:27), and he who eats without recognizing the body of Christ eats and drinks his own condemnation (1 Co 11:29). It is in one body, His own, that Christ has reconciled Christians to the Father by His death (Eph 2:16 f; Col 1:22). Thus He has made the Church one body, His own, in which one Spirit dwells

(Eph 4:4). Christians are called in one body (Col 3:15). The physical realism of these passages is remarkable and should not be diluted to mere metaphor. The identity of Christians with the physical body of Christ is unique in Paul's presentation and is much more than the union of members of a society with the governing authority and with each other.

This physical realism lies behind those passages in which Paul speaks of the Church as the body of Christ. Scholars disagree on the precise interpretation of these passages, and some propose a development from the idea of one body "in" Christ (Rm + 1 Co) and one body "of" Christ (Eph + Col); the realistic element is more pronounced in Eph-Col, and is one of the arguments adduced for regarding these epistles as "deutero-Pauline" (cf COLOSSIANS; EPHESIANS). The argument by itself is not convincing, since the physical realism of the conception appears in all the passages cited above; but there seems to have been a development in the expression of the idea. In Rm 12:4 ff the application of the term body to the Church bears less on the unity of Christians with Christ than their union with each other; diversity of offices and of charismata does not institute a division any more than different functions of bodily members institutes a division. The members of the church belong to each other. In 1 Co 12:12-27 the same analogy of body is invoked as a motive of Christian unity with diversity of offices and functions; the church of Corinth furnished a genuine problem of unity. But Paul's language goes beyond the minimum requirements of his argument. The members are one because they are baptized by one spirit into one body (12:13). They are called not one body in Christ but one body of Christ (12:27). The same identity is presupposed in 1 Co 6:15 f, where Paul calls the bodies of Christians members of Christ, and adduces this identity as a motive for abstaining from fornication. The body is a member of Christ and a temple of the Holy Spirit; the Christian must glorify God in his body by preserving the holiness of Christ, for glory is manifest holiness (1 Co 6:19 f). That the temple of 6:19 does not imply physical realism is evident, and one might ask why this realism is affirmed of the body; but there is no background in Pauline language for the physical realism of the metaphor of the temple as there is for his conception of the body, and the two terms are not really parallel. It is because the Christian really is a member of the body of Christ that he can be called by metaphor a temple of the Holy Spirit.

In Eph-Col the Church as the body of

Christ is introduced somewhat abruptly with no explanation (Eph 1:23; Col 1:24); the ideas of the earlier epistles are presupposed. Development of language seems apparent; the Church is the "fullness" of the body of Christ, since the identity of the Church and her members with the circumscribed corporal extension of the body of Christ would be a manifest absurdity. But it is Paul's point that the transformation and the glorification of the body of Christ permits an identification of body (and not merely of sentiment and intention) between Christ and the Church which would have been inconceivable before the glorification of Jesus. Hence a new term is introduced; Christ is called the head of His body the Church (Eph 5:23; Col 1:8; 2:19). This term does not loosen the identity of Christ and the Church, but preserves the distinction between Christ as the principle and the Church as the term. Effectively "head and members" means nothing different from the earlier "body and members," and this is clear from Paul's explanation: it is Christ the head from whom the whole body is joined and nourished, and grows with a growth from God in love (Eph 4:16; Col 2:19). The idea of body is here enlarged to include the idea of growth, correlative with the idea of fullness. The Church and her members obviously have not reached the destiny to which their incorporation in Christ leads, and hence the body of Christ must be conceived in such a way that, while it lacks nothing which belongs to it, it is capable of expansion and perfection through growth in numbers and in the essential Christian virtue of love. Hence one can speak of "the building" of the body of Christ (Eph 4:12, 16). Finally the union of Christians with the body of Christ is compared to the union of husband and wife; the body of the wife is not her own but her husband's and so Christ cherishes the Church because we are members of His body. In this application Paul departs somewhat from the close identity of union which is implicit in other passages.

This exposition follows in general the explanation of J. A. T. Robinson in specifying the body of Christ as the risen glorified body with which the Church is one, and in emphasizing that this union involves physical realism. This is not to deny that it has a basis in sacramental union (cf EUCHARIST); but the important element is that it is distinguished from all types of merely moral and social unions. It is unique and hence all comparisons break down; because it is unique the more recent term "mystical" has come into use and appears in ecclesiastical documents. The term is not biblical and should never be explained in such a way

that the biblical elements are not included. The union of the members of Christ is the basis of their mutual union with each other; the physical realism of the union of the Church with Christ is not extended to the union of member with member, but their union with the one physical reality is a new and again unique basis for a unique type of union in society.

The antecedents of the Pauline conception of body are not obvious and a number of suggestions have been made: Stoicism, Gnosticism, the Eucharist, rabbinic speculation on the cosmic body of Adam, and the OT idea of corporate personality. It seems most probable that the idea, which in the form it has in the Pauline epistles is altogether original, has no single antecedent, but is somewhat indebted to several. The term body certainly is not derived from the OT; and the idea of a cosmic body appeared in Stoicism and in the Gnostic idea of Primeval Man. Paul could have known of these from casual conversation; he shows no profound acquaintance with either system, but the term seems to have been current enough for him to employ it. That the Eucharist is basic in the idea has been mentioned above. In principle the idea is a development of the OT conception of the corporate personality; cf SERVANT OF THE LORD for the treatment of this conception.

Book (Hb *sēper*, Gk *biblion*, Lt *liber*). The earliest form of book was the scroll of papyrus*, which was produced and marketed in rolls usually about 9 in wide and 35 ft long. These rolls could be cut into pages of desired size, but this roll uncut was the average size "book," (Hb *m^cgillah*, Lt *volumen*) although larger books could be produced by gluing more than one roll together; one Egyptian papyrus scroll was 133 ft long and 16¼ in wide. This type of book remained in use through most of the Greek and Roman periods, although the material could be papyrus, leather (the Qumran* scrolls), or parchment*. The lines were written parallel to the length of the scroll in columns (or pages) from 2 in to 10 in in width. When not in use, the scroll was rolled up; a rod was sometimes used as an axis. In the Semitic alphabet* both writing and pages proceeded from right to left; the reader held the scroll in his left hand and unrolled it toward his right, and rolled up the portion already read. To use both sides of such a scroll was practically impossible, and a scroll written on both sides was a surprising element in a prophetic vision (Ezk 2:9 f; Apc 5:1). Scrolls could be sealed (Is 29:11; Dn 12:4). The inconvenience of the roll, especially for ready reference

was at least partly responsible for the invention of the *codex*, the modern book form. Codices have now been discovered which were produced in the 2nd century AD; and since these are almost entirely biblical or Christian MSS, it is supposed by many scholars that the codex was invented by Christians. The papyrus roll was cut into pages, which were laid in a pile; the sheets could be laid singly or folded once, producing a signature of four pages. Both sides of the material could be used for writing, and the sheets were bound at the left-hand side. The form was not changed when parchment replaced papyrus, except that papyrus, which is fragile and brittle when dry, can be folded only once at most; parchment can be folded into signatures of as many as 16 pages. The codex did not exceed 14 in. in length and 10 in. in width.

Book of Life. Israelite genealogies* recorded membership and rank in Israel. When Nehemiah* came to Jerusalem those who could not prove their Israelite ancestry (Ne 7:61) or their priestly ancestry (Ne 7:64) by genealogy were not admitted to full standing. This practice probably underlies the conception of a heavenly register in which God records those who belong to Him. In Ex 32:32 to be erased from the book of life means simply to die; the same meaning is probably intended in Ps 69:29, where the wicked are erased from the book of life in which the righteous are inscribed. In Ps 87:6 God keeps a record of those who are born in Jerusalem; in Is 4:3 there is a record of those who are destined for life in the messianic Jerusalem. In Dn 12:1 the book contains the names of those who will escape the final messianic tribulation. These passages connect the book with predestination, which is also suggested in Ps 139:16; the days of the Psalmist are all written in God's book before he is born. In the NT one is inscribed in the book of life as meriting a reward for good works: the disciples (Lk 10:20), Paul's fellow-workers (Phl 4:3). Here "life" comes to mean eternal salvation. Christians are enrolled as citizens of heaven (Heb 12:23; cf Is 4:3). He who overcomes will not be erased from the book of life (Apc 3:5), and no one who is not written in the book of life will enter the heavenly Jerusalem (Apc 22:27). Elsewhere Apc explicitly suggests predestination; those who are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world worship the beast (Apc 13:8; 17:8), and those who are not written in the book will be cast into the pool of fire (Apc 20:15). The book of life is related to the conception of a book in which the deeds of men are recorded (Mal 3:16; Dn 7:10; Apc

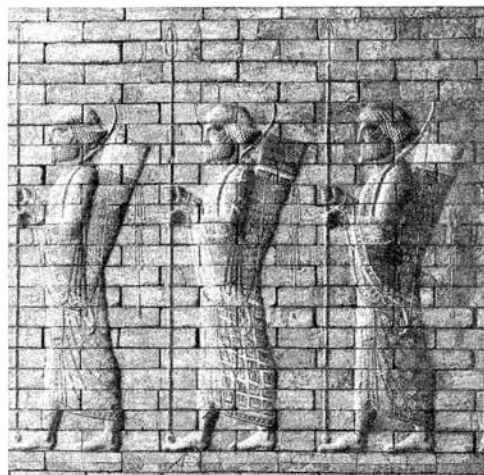
20:12), although the two conceptions are not identical; the book of life is a register of citizenship in the heavenly Jerusalem, while the book of accounts corresponds to a judicial or annalistic record.

Booth (Hb *sukkāh*), a temporary shelter, usually constructed of tree branches, for the use of herdsmen, harvesters, and watchmen of fields and vineyards. The Israelites constructed booths for the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles*. Jonah* built a booth in which to await the destruction of Nineveh* (Jon 4:5 ff). The booths were abandoned to collapse when they were no longer in use. Such an abandoned booth is used in a striking figure to represent the devastation of Jerusalem (Is 1:8) and the collapse of the dynasty of David (Am 9:11).

Booz. Cf BOAZ.

Bottle. Skin bottles were made of an animal's entire hide, dried slowly, and are mentioned in Gn 21:14; Jos 9:4; Jgs 4:19 +; they were the most easily obtained and the most sturdy for nomads, but were in common use in cities and villages also. When dried out they lost their flexibility and would burst by the expansion of gas, giving occasion to the figure of Jb 32:19, adopted by Jesus to express the novelty of His Gospel (Mt 9:17; Mk 2:22; Lk 5:37). Earthenware bottles of various sizes and shapes were in common use; one was employed by Jeremiah in a symbolic action to predict the destruction of Judah (Je 19:1 ff).

Bow. The use of the bow and arrow was known in Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium BC and appears to have come in with the Akkadians* from the north. The bow was either of wood reinforced with a surface of knitted sinews on the outside or fabricated of wood with a surface of sinew and an inlay of horn. The arrow, about 32 in. long, was made of wood (sometimes polished) with a point of flint, bronze, or iron, sometimes barbed. The bowstring was of linen cord or of sinew. The "bow of bronze" (Jb 20:24) probably refers by metonymy to the point of the arrow; the technical difficulties in producing a practical metal bow seem insurmountable, and such bows as the gold-plated bow presented to Amenhotep III of Egypt by Dusratta of Mitanni must have been purely ornamental. The bow was drawn with the arm, as it always appears in art; the common Hb idiom "tread the bow" probably refers to the use of the foot to set the arrow. Wristlets to protect the left arm were



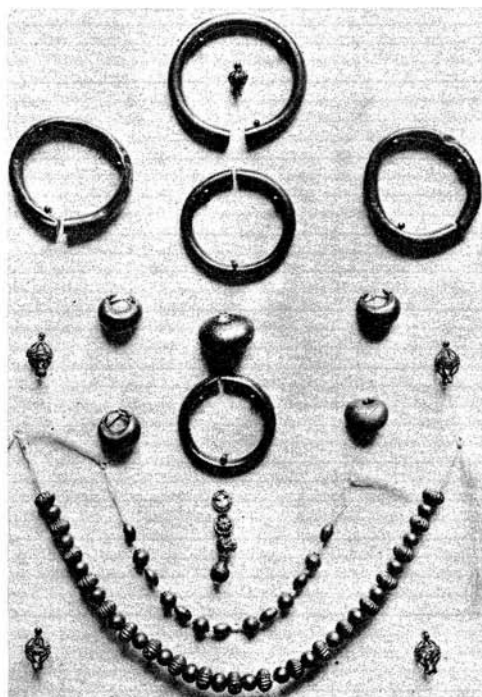
a) Assyrian bows. b) A soldier armed with bow and short sword. c) Persian bowmen. d) Arrowhead. e) Assyrian archers behind shields.

known. Some ancient bows which have been discovered are sharply angled in the center; but when set for shooting they are represented in art as forming a semicircle. The bow was used in hunting* (Gn 27:3) and in war. Until Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859 BC) the bow seems to have been the weapon of the king and the nobles rather than the common troops; the Pharaoh is always represented in battle scenes with a bow, while the troops are armed with sword and spear. In Assyria the Bowman rode in chariots with one or two companions to drive and to protect him with a shield. After Ashur-nasir-pal there also appear mounted archers; to shoot either from a chariot or from a horse presupposes no small skill. Assyrian kings are represented hunting from chariots. After the 8th century BC the Assyrians developed the technique of archery troops to a high degree. The archer was accompanied by a shield bearer; this permitted near approach to the enemy, even to fortified cities. We must suppose that the tactic of mass fire was employed; the archers are always represented in scenes of assault on fortifications. In Israel* the king (2 K 13:15 ff; Pss 18:34; 45:6), the king's son (2 S 1:22), and the commander in chief (2 K 9:24) are armed with the bow. It was no doubt under Assyrian influence that archery troops appeared among the Aramaeans (1 K 22:34) and in Judah* under Uzziah (2 Ch 26:14); we should probably suppose the same development in Israel. In poetry the bow is a figure of strength (Je 49:35; Ho 1:5 +). God Himself is armed with a bow; His arrows are the lightning (Ps 18:15).

Bozrah (Hb *bōsrāh*, meaning unknown), an Edomite city (Gn 36:33; 1 Ch 1:44), mentioned in several prophetic threats against Edom (Is 34:6; 63:1; Je 49:13, 22; Am 1:12). The city was certainly one of the principal cities and possibly the royal residence. It is identified with modern Buseira, about 120 mi S of Amman and 25 mi E of the Dead Sea. The site lies on an isolated spur surrounded on all sides except the approach by the steep cliffs of the wadi and is naturally a very strong point. The Bozrah named among the cities of Moab (Je 48:24) can hardly be the same place; critics suggest that Bezer be read here instead.

Bracelet. Bracelets were made of gold, silver, bronze, and iron. Bracelets consist-

ing of a closed circle were not made in Palestine; this style was Egyptian. The bracelet was a band of metal, flat or circular, bent to fit, with the ends brought next to each other or overlapped. In armbands worn on the upper arm the ends were left separated by a larger interval. There is no ornamentation on the bracelets found in ancient sites. Art shows two or three bracelets worn at once, sometimes both bracelets and armbands. They were usually worn by women



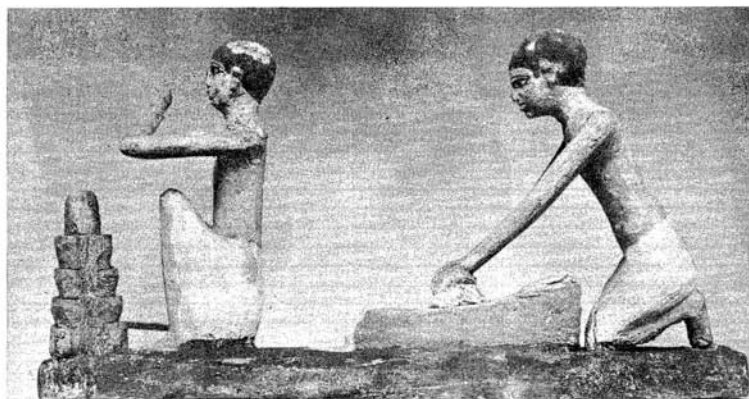
Egyptian bracelets and necklaces.

(Gn 24:22, 30, 47; Jdt 10:3; Ezk 16:11; 23:42); bracelets worn by men (e.g., by Saul in 2 S 1:10) are thought to be a sign of rank or office.

Brazen Serpent. The bronze serpent* (*nēhuš-tān*), a cult object removed from the temple* by Hezekiah (2 K 18:4 ff.). According to the cult legend preserved in Nm 21:4 ff this object was constructed by Moses when the Israelites were attacked by "fiery serpents" (cf SERAPH). In both Mesopotamia and

Syria the serpent was associated with the nude goddess of fertility and the god of vegetation; it was a symbol of sex, the source of life, and its use as a symbol of healing fits this pattern. The same symbolism appears in the entwined serpent of the Greek god of healing, Asklepios, and is preserved in the caduceus of the modern physician. The worship of the serpent may be compared with the scene of the worship of a serpent god portrayed on a Mesopotamian seal. The presence of this element of foreign symbolism in Yahwism is paralleled by other elements which were only rejected with the development of Israelite belief. The bronze serpent is proposed as a symbol of salvation (WS 16:6) and as a type of the crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 3:14 f.).

Bread. Bread was the staple article of diet in both OT and NT. Common bread was made of barley* flour; wheat* bread was a luxury. The meal was ground and the bread baked daily. The work was done by the wife or by slaves*, although there were professional bakers (Je 37:21). It was baked either leavened or unleavened; the latter method was used if quick baking were necessary, as to provide for guests (Gn 18:6). There were three methods of baking: (1) The *tannûr* (oven) was a conical cylinder in which the dough was either baked on hot stones or stuck on the inside of the oven. (2) Round metal plates were placed on three stones over a fire. (3) "Hearth-cakes" were made by placing the dough under hot ashes; Ephraim is once compared to such a cake which was not turned and is therefore half-baked (Ho 7:8). In modern times a refinement of this method is used; a hole is dug in which a fire is burned all day, and the fire is then cleared out and the bread is placed in the hole, carefully covered, and allowed to bake all night. The scarcity of wood sometimes made it necessary to use dung for fuel (Ezk 4:15). The loaf was either shaped like a stone (cf Mt 4:3; 7:9; Lk 4:3) or round and flat like our pancakes (Hb *kikkar*, "circle"). It was not cut with a knife, but broken with the hands. In the Bible bread often signifies food in general, as in the Our Father. The shewbread* was an offering of bread placed in the sanctuary. The price of a prostitute was a loaf of bread (Pr 6:26). Travelers carried their bread in a sack (Mk 6:8; Lk 9:3). "To eat bread in the kingdom of God" was to partake of the messianic banquet (Lk 14:15; cf MEALS). Jesus, alluding to the Eucharist*, called Himself the true bread, the living bread, the bread that comes down



a) Egyptian bread-making: right, kneading dough; left, tending fire.
b) Ovens at Pompeii.

from heaven (Jn 6:32 ff). Partaking of the Eucharist symbolizes the unity of Christians in one bread and one body* (1 Co 10:17).

Breastplate. Breastplate as a separate piece of armor* does not appear in the OT. It is mentioned metaphorically as a part of the Christian's armor: the breastplate of righteousness (Eph 6:14), of faith and love (1 Th 5:8). The breastplate which was a part of the vestments of the high priest* is described in Ex 28:15-30; 39:8-21. It was made of gold, violet, purple, and scarlet thread woven into linen which was folded double into a square a span (about eight in.) on a side. In it were set 12 precious stones in four rows of three, each engraved with the name of one of the 12 tribes. A pouch was attached to it by gold chains and rings which contained the oracle of the Urim and Thummim*. The breastplate symbolized the function of the high priest as the representative of all Israel.

Brethren of the Lord. The brethren of Jesus are mentioned in Mt 12:46; 13:55 f; Mk 3:31; 6:3; Lk 8:19; Jn 2:12; 7:3 ff; 20:17; AA 1:14; 1 Co 9:5; Gal 1:19. Four are mentioned by name: James*, Joses* (or Joseph*), Simon*, and Judas* (Mt 13:55; Mk 6:3). The tradition of the perpetual virginity of Mary* has always rejected the idea that these were her children and the theory proposed by a few Fathers that they were children of Joseph by a previous marriage has no foundation. The Gk word *adelphos*, brother (*adelphē*, sister) is used much as brother and sister are used in Eng. Here, however, one must recall the Hb-Aramaic background of the Gospels, which often shows that Gk words are translations of their Semitic usage. Hb words for distinction of degrees of kinship are neither as many nor as exact as our own words; and we often see reflections of the ancient nomadic usage by which all members of a tribe* or clan were called brothers, just as the tribal or clan

head, the sheik, was sometimes called father. Of the four mentioned by name it is clear that James and Joses (Joseph) are sons neither of Joseph nor of Mary the mother of Jesus. A different Mary is the mother of them both; she was among the group at the foot of the cross (Mt 27:56; Mk 15:40). James is called the son of Alphaeus* in the lists of the apostles (Mt 10:3; Mk 3:18; Lk 6:15; AA 1:13). Furthermore, there is no mention of other children anywhere, and it is difficult to explain how Jesus commended Mary to the care of the disciple John* (Jn 19:26) if there were other sons. There is nothing in the Gospels or in linguistic usage which is opposed to the tradition of the perpetual virginity of Mary; and this tradition itself is difficult to explain if these allusions were ever understood as meaning uterine brothers and sisters. The exact degree of relationship between Jesus and His brethren cannot be reconstructed.

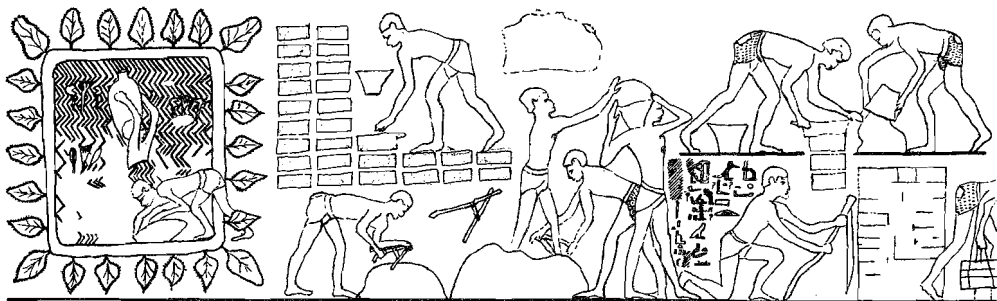
Brick. Brick was the most common building material in Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Clay is abundant in Egypt and Mesopotamia, while stone is more abundant in Palestine; the use of brick is to be explained by the lack of adequate metal tools and skilled labor for extensive working of stone. Bricks were made by mixing the clay with the feet, the addition of a binder such as straw, and sun-drying in wooden molds; kiln-fired bricks were known in Mesopotamia (Gn 11:3), but the remains show that they were used only in areas where more durable brick was necessary. The Israelites were put to making bricks in Egypt (Ex 1:14; 5:6 ff). Clay was used in mortar; bitumen* was known in Mesopotamia. In both Egypt and Palestine stone was used only for temples and palaces; its employment was a sign of luxury (Is 9:9). The technique was not equal to that of the modern bricklayer, as can be observed in the few remains, and collapse is mentioned as a common danger (Is 30:13; Ezk 13:10 ff). Wooden beams were sometimes

used as frames, but these added to the danger of fire. The bricks were easily damaged by moisture and cheaply made houses could dissolve in a heavy rain, although Nelson Glueck found at Ezion-geber* that the remains from Solomon's time resisted a torrential rain better than the brick houses of the modern inhabitants. In Hb folklore the invention of brickmaking was attributed to the builders of Babel* (Gn 11:3). Enamelled bricks have been found in the remains of the buildings of Ashur-nasir-pal, Sargon, and Nebuchadnezzar (cf ASSYRIA; BABYLON), arranged in pictorial designs; but this skill does not appear in Israelite remains.

Bride, Bridegroom. Cf MARRIAGE.

Bronze. Ancient bronze was an alloy of copper* and tin*. The alloy increases the strength and hardness of copper while it lowers its melting point, and thus facilitates casting. Bronze is worked by being hammered or cast. The Bronze Age in the ancient Near East extended 3200–1200 bc (cf ARCHAEOLOGY). Neither the date nor the place of the discovery of bronze is known for certain; but it was almost certainly in Asia, and very probably in Anatolia. Probably its discovery was due to accident. It appears early in both Mesopotamia and Egypt, and was the primary metal for all purposes, not only tools and weapons, but also for ornamentation such as jewelry and statuary; cf separate articles. On the sources of the metals of COPPER; TIN. It is not clear where the centers of the manufacture of bronze were to be found. For the bronze work of the temple Solomon hired craftsmen from Tyre* (1 K 7:13 ff), which suggests that little or no work of this kind was done by native Israelites. The casting was done in the Jordan valley between Succoth and Zarethan (1 K 7:46); the reasons for the selection of this site are not clear.

Brook. A common Eng translation of Hb *nahal*, which, like Arabic *wadi*, signifies a seasonal stream which runs only during the



Ancient Egyptian brickmaking.

rainy months (cf *arroyo* in SW USA). The name is applied a few times to perennial streams, the Kishon* (Jgs 5:21; 1 K 18:40) and the Jabbok* (Gn 32:22).

Brother. The primary sense in both OT and NT is son of the same parents, either father and mother (e.g., Gn 27:6) or of same father and different mother (e.g., Gn 28:2). In polygamous households uterine brothers and sisters were closer to each other than half brothers and sisters. In a wider use it signifies a person of common ancestry and relationship; in particular, a member of the same clan or tribe (e.g., Nm 16:10). It is extended to members of the same race or nation (e.g., Dt 15:12) or of a kindred nation (e.g., Dt 23:7). In the NT Christians are called brothers about 160 times, and Jesus Himself said that one who does the will of the Father is His own brother (Mt 12:50; Mk 3:35; Lk 8:21). Brother is a term of polite address, especially of one monarch to another (1 K 20:32); this address is common in the Amarna* letters. In Gn 9:5; Mt 5:22; 18:35 + the word signifies a fellow human being; in these passages there is a warning against violence and anger.

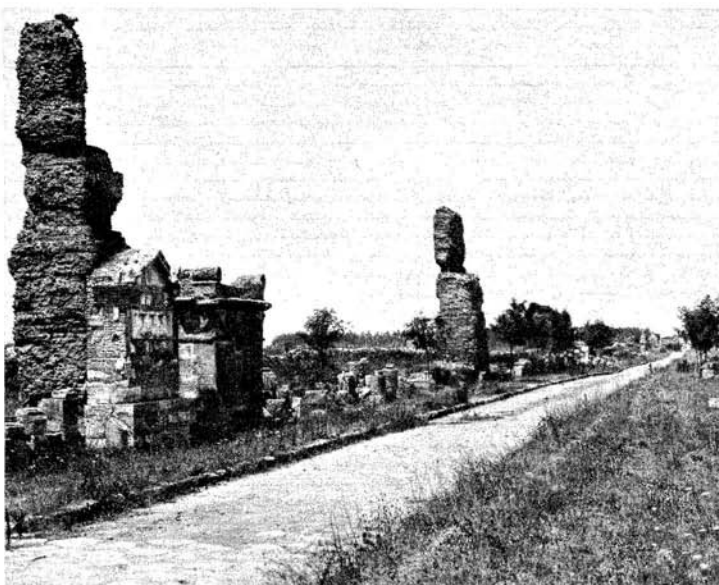
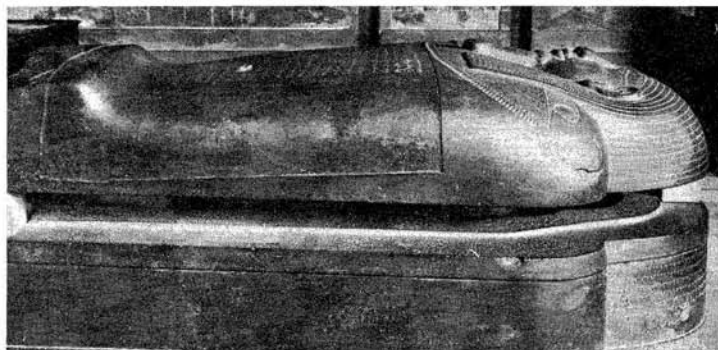
Bul. The 8th month of the old Hb calendar*, corresponding to Marheswan, roughly our October-November.

Bull. On the cultivation of the bull cf ox. In the ancient Near East the bull was a very common symbol of strength and of virile fecundity and hence appears as a divine symbol. The title "the bull" is given to the moon god Sin (with reference to the horns of the crescent) and to Marduk in Mesopotamia, and to El, the head of the pantheon of Ugarit. The title *'ābir*, given to Yahweh, usually translated "strong one," originally meant "the bull" (of Jacob, Gn 49:24; Pss 132:2, 5; of Israel, Is 1:24; 49:26; 60:16); but it is probable that the original meaning had been forgotten when this title is used in the literature. In the cult of N Israel Yahweh was represented by a bull which was the pedestal upon which He stood invisible (cf IMAGE; Ex 32; 1 K 12:26-33). This cult was reprobated with scorn by Amos (4:4; 5:5 f; 7:9) and Hosea (10:4-7; 8:4-6); although the explanation of the bull as pedestal by modern scholars is no doubt correct, it is not clear how many ignorant Israelites thought the bull was an image of Yahweh Himself in symbolic form. The value of the bull made it the most desirable sacrificial animal.

Burial. Burial was the almost universal prac-

tice in Palestine from prehistoric times; the archaeological remains of cremation occur only in pre-Israelite Gezer and Jerusalem. In the OT there is a possible allusion to cremation as an emergency measure during pestilence (Am 6:10). The burning of the bodies of Saul* and Jonathan* by the men of Jabesh-gilead probably refers to the burning of the flesh and entrails removed from the bones, which were then buried (Galling); but this practice does not appear elsewhere (1 S 31:11 ff.).

1. *Archaeological Remains.* Most burials were simple inhumations which have left no traces; only the graves which were solidly constructed and presumably belonged to kings and the wealthy have survived. While burials in early times took place within the city walls and sometimes within the houses, graves are usually found outside the walls concentrated within a single area (necropolis). Prehistoric burials were done in caves or in dolmens, in which slabs of stone were set up in imitation of a house; the whole was often covered with a mound of earth (tumulus). In the Chalcolithic site of Teleilat el Ghassul were found chests and urns in which the bones of the deceased were kept in the house after the decay of the flesh. But the prevailing type of grave was the cave; and the need for more room as well as the need for using the site for more than one burial led first to the artificial enlargement of the natural cave, then to the excavation of entirely artificial caves. The simplest form of artificial cave was a chamber, natural or enlarged, entered by a shaft like a well. This appears in Middle Bronze. Technical improvements were a staircase entrance and the addition of another chamber; with variations in detail and further technical improvements this is substantially the type of grave which is found throughout the biblical period. Chambers with a vaulted masonry roof were found at Megiddo*. The entrance to the entire grave and the entrances to the separate chambers could be closed by rolling large stones before the opening, but they were not always closed; the tomb of Elisha* seems to have been open (2 K 13:21). The usual position of the body was supine, as in our burials; in early burials the bodies were sometimes interred with the knees drawn up to the chin. This has been thought to imitate the position of the fetus in the womb; it is possible also that it was no more than an economy of space. Only infants have been found buried in jars which were immured in walls or in the foundations of houses, with a few exceptions, and this type of burial is limited to the early periods. It is not clear that these were foundation sacrifices, but their position sug-



a) Sarcophagus of Eshmunazar of Sidon. b) Mummified head of Ramses II. c) Egyptian mummy.
d) Tombs on the Via Appia.

gests some religious or superstitious motive. Just before the Philistine* invasion (about 1200 BC) the Canaanites had begun to bury their dead in clay coffins with human features molded upon the top; these were doubtless imitations of Egyptian sarcophagi. With the beginning of the Israelite period there appears the bench grave; the floor of the chamber was excavated to a depth of 2 ft or so, leaving a bench entirely around the wall of the chamber upon which the bodies were laid. A variation of this type is an elongated tunnel. Some have identified such a grave found on the southeastern hill of Jerusalem as the family sepulcher of the house of David, in which 13 kings of Judah were buried. Unfortunately quarrying in the area in Roman times has disturbed the

original form of the tunnel. With the beginning of the 2nd century BC there appears the catacomb type of grave, possibly introduced from Alexandria. Longitudinal niches were excavated in the wall of the chamber(s) to a depth of about 6½ ft, and 20–30 in. in width and height; the body was pushed into the niche, head or feet first, and the niche could be closed with a stone. When a new body was placed in an already used niche, the bones from the preceding burial were collected and placed in a limestone casket (ossuary), which in turn was placed either in the antechamber or in a niche in an adjoining chamber reserved for this purpose. Not until this type of grave appears was there any effort to keep the remains distinct; the ossuaries usually have a name upon them.

An ossuary of NT times was found with the name "Jesus son of Joseph"; at first it caused some excitement, but the name was one of the most common combinations of the period. The catacomb tomb, which was often entered, was closed at the entrance by a large stone rounded like a mill stone, which was usually set into a groove.

Throughout the Canaanite and Israelite periods graves appear with funerary deposits; their absence in some graves can be presumed due to disturbance or grave robbery, an extremely common crime from earliest historic times. Kings and nobles were buried with costly jewelry and with the insignia of office. The grave was furnished with all sorts of tools and utensils employed during life: weapons, personal seals, amulets, etc. A large amount of pottery shows that food and drink were left in the tombs. Pins and brooches show that the bodies were buried clothed. In later times the realism of the deposits was less pronounced, and in the Hellenistic period the most common article was the lamp.

2. *Biblical References.* The cave of Machpelah* at Hebron* purchased by Abraham* (Gn 23:1 ff) was the type of Bronze Age family tomb described above. The common biblical expression "to be buried with one's fathers" or "to sleep with one's fathers" probably refers to burial in family tombs, although the idiom becomes meaningless in this respect when it is used of burial elsewhere (e.g., David, 1 K 2:10). The Egyptian practice of mummification is mentioned only for Jacob* (Gn 50:3) and Joseph* (Gn 50:26). Jacob was buried at Machpelah, but both Rachel* (Gn 35:20) and Joseph (Jos 24:32) were buried elsewhere. The graves of men of renown were usually known, as is evident from the numerous references to grave sites, and it was worthy of note that the site of Moses's grave was not known (Dt 34:6). Barzillai* preferred to be buried in the sepulcher of his father and mother (2 S 19:38). Absalom* raised a pillar for himself (2 S 18:18); such monuments were rare, and until Hellenistic times nothing of the tomb appeared above ground. Isaiah uttered a threat against Shebna* for the vanity exhibited in hewing a new tomb in the rock (Is 22:16). The grave of the common people is mentioned in 2 K 23:6; it could scarcely have been the cave sepulcher of the type already described, and probably means an area of simple inhumation. Family tombs are mentioned for Gideon* (Jgs 8:32), Samson* (Jgs 16:31), Asahel* (2 S 2:32), Ahithophel* (2 S 17:23), the family of Kish* (2 S 21:14). The tombs of Jesus and of Lazarus* were probably the catacomb type; the tomb of Jesus was newly con-

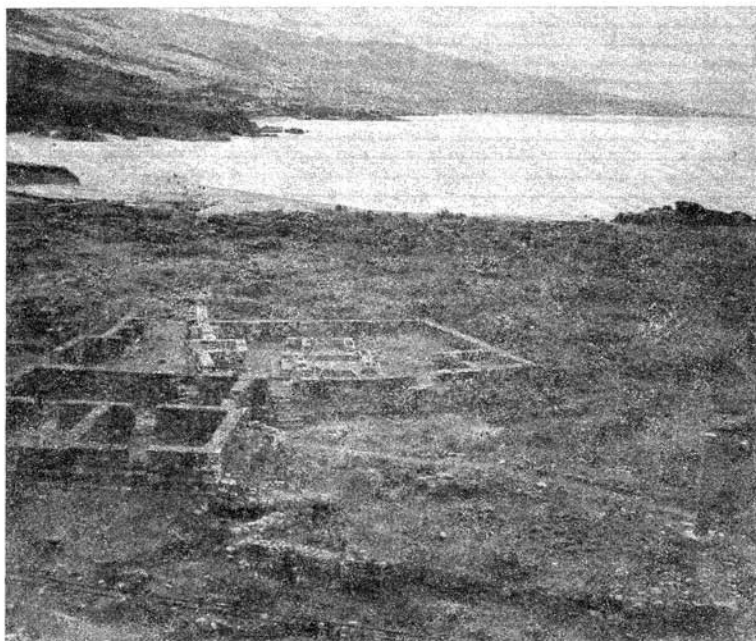
structed by Joseph of Arimathea* and had not yet been used (Mt 27:60; Lk 23:53; Jn 19:41). The stone which closed it as well as the stone of the tomb of Lazarus (Jn 11:38 ff) was probably the rounded stone set in a groove. The body of Jesus was apparently not yet set in a niche, since its place could be seen from the entrance (Jn 20:5); it had been left on the bench for the completion of the burial wrapping.

Burial took place if possible on the day of death, and in OT times no preparation of the body was made, as far as we know. In NT times the body was washed (AA 9:37) and anointed with ointments and spices (Mk 16:1; Lk 16:56 ff; Jn 19:39 ff). All four Gospels mention the wrapping in linen, but only Jn mentions *othonia* (19:40; 20:7) and a handkerchief over the face (20:7). The nature of the wrapping is not clear; the word used by Jn suggests that the body was wound in linen bands. A similar word (*keiria*) is used of Lazarus (Jn 11:44), and such binding is further suggested by Jesus's command to untie him.

Burial was granted even to criminals after execution, and privation of burial was a great curse (Dt 28:26; 1 K 21:23 f; 2 K 9:36 f; Is 34:3; 66:24; Je 7:33; 14:16; 16:4; 19:7; 22:19; 25:33). Possibly the original purpose of burial was to prevent the deceased from haunting the survivors, but there is no evidence that the Israelites shared this belief. The funerary deposits likewise may have attested a belief in an afterlife in which these things would be necessary, as we know for the funerary deposits in Egypt. Without literary evidence, however, it is very difficult to deduce such beliefs. The OT exhibits no such idea (cf DEATH; SHEOL). In all cultures funeral practices exhibit many archaic features which are retained long after their original significance has been forgotten, and this is probably the explanation of the Israelite adoption of the Canaanite practice of funerary deposits. On the ritual of burial cf MOURNING.

Butter. Butter as we know it was not manufactured in biblical times. The word occurs in some Eng translations as a rendition of Hb *hem'ah*, curds of cow's or goat's milk (Gn 18:8; Dt 32:14; Jgs 5:25; 2 S 17:29; Jb 20:17; 29:6; Ps 55:22; Pr 30:33; Is 7:15, 22), esteemed as a delicacy in the Near East both in ancient and in modern times.

Byblos (Hb *g^ebal*, Gk *byblos*), a Phoenician city at the modern Jebeil, 25 mi N of Beirut on the coast of the Mediterranean. A tradition reported by Philo calls Byblos the oldest city in the world, founded and



Ruins of Byblos about
2000 B.C.

equipped with walls by the god El. It was the most important of the Phoenician cities from the beginning of recorded history down to about 1000 BC. Phoenicia was a meeting place of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and—in the 2nd millennium BC—Mycenean influences. These mixed influences are reflected in the hybrid character of Phoenician art, most examples of which have been found at Byblos. Egyptian influence, however, was predominant. The principal commercial goods handled at Byblos were Lebanese cedars and copper from the Caucasus which was exported to Egypt. In return Byblos imported Egyptian papyrus* which it sold throughout the Mediterranean, giving its name not only to the product, but also to the Gk word *biblos*, book, from which *Bible* is derived. The Egyptian influence was strong on the religion of Byblos, but the influence was reciprocal; Baalat Gebal, "The Lady of Byblos," was identified with Hathor or Isis by the Egyptians. In the legend of Osiris the coffin of Osiris was cast into the sea by his enemies and floated ashore at Byblos, where it was recovered by Isis. The native religion of Byblos was the cult of Baal*, called by the Greeks Adonis, whom the Egyptians identified with Osiris. Byblos with the rest of the coast was conquered by the Hyksos* in the 18th century BC and regained for Egypt by Thutmose III (1502–1448). It was held by Egypt until its conquest by the Peoples of the Sea (cf PHILISTINES) in the

12th century. 64 of the Amarna* Letters come from Rib-Addi of Byblos, and these give much information on the disturbed condition of Phoenicia in the closing years of the 18th dynasty. The letters refer often to the former prosperity of Byblos, which the king refers to the protection of the Pharaoh and to the unbroken loyalty of Byblos to Egypt during the preceding centuries, which seems to be no exaggeration of the facts. Byblos is mentioned as a point on the journey of Sinuhe about 1960 BC. The story of Wen-Amon of Egypt, who was sent to Byblos to purchase cedar (about 1100 BC), shows that the city had become completely independent of Egypt, and the Egyptian envoy was treated with the utmost discourtesy. Byblos was tributary to the Assyrians. It is first mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I (1112–1074 BC) and the kings of the 9th, 8th, and 7th centuries almost without exception include Byblos among the Phoenician cities tributary to them. It is also mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar* of Babylon. The city has been extensively excavated by the French Archaeological School of Syria since 1921, and the excavations have disclosed a wealth of objects of Phoenician art. The excavators found the city walls; the earliest wall was rebuilt and remodeled and used throughout the subsequent history of the city. The temple of Baalat Gebal was identified; the oldest portion of the temple was built in the 4th millennium BC, and the temple was re-

built after a conflagration in 2150 BC. The construction reflected Egyptian influence and the temple contained a large number of Egyptian votive offerings. Vestigial remains of two other temples equally old were discovered; one of these was dedicated to Resheph*. The excavators also found the well which provided water for the ancient city and a number of Phoenician tombs. The remains of the Roman city included the debris of a colonnade and the remains of a theater. Of importance for the history of writing were the pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions of

the 13th century BC. These were written in a prealphabetic type of writing which has not yet been deciphered. The three passages in which Byblos is mentioned in the OT do not reflect the importance of the ancient city. It is included in the territory claimed for Israel (Jos 13:5), a claim which was never implemented, and the temple of Solomon was built with the help of carpenters and masons from Byblos (1 K 5:32). The men of Byblos were famous as skilled mariners (Ezk 27:9).

Cabul (Hb *kābûl*, etymology uncertain), the name of a district of 20 cities in Galilee* given by Solomon* to Hiram* of Tyre* in payment for work on the temple* (1 K 9:10 ff). Hiram's unfavorable reception of the payment gave rise to the popular etymological pun *kēbal*, "good for nothing." Chronicles*, with its peculiar treatment of history, relates that Hiram gave the cities to Solomon (2 Ch 8:2).

Caesar. The *cognomen* of Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 bc) who effectively established dictatorial rule in Rome and broke the power of the Senate, thus founding the imperial government. It was the adopted name of Octavius (cf AUGUSTUS) and after him became an official title of the emperor. Three of the Caesars are mentioned in the NT: Augustus*, Tiberius*, and Claudius*.

Caesarea (Gk *kaesareia*), a city of the Palestinian coast, the modern Kaisariyeh S of Mt Carmel. The city was built by Herod* the Great on the site of a settlement known previously as the Tower of Straton and was practically an entirely new construction. Herod created an artificial harbor by the erection of sea walls 200 ft wide standing in 20 fathoms of water. The city itself was built in the Hellenistic style with agora, theater, amphitheater, stadium, a palace, a temple of Caesar, and colossal statues of Augustus and Rome. The amphitheater was an oval enclosing an area 300 ft long and 200 ft wide, slightly larger than the area enclosed by the Colosseum of Rome. The city was 12 years in construction (25–13 bc) and was inaugurated by games in 9 bc. Excavations have been carried out at Caesarea. Underwater explorations off the shore have shown the massive character of the moles built by Herod. Caesarea became at once the principal port of Palestine, which has no natural harbor on its coast. The Roman procurator made his residence there and it became effectively the capital of the country; but it was predominantly Hellenistic. Caesarea is not mentioned in the Gospels. In AA it is the port of arrival and departure for several journeys (AA 9:30; 18:22; 21:8). It was reached by Philip* but its evangelization apparently was first conducted by Peter* at the house of Cornelius* (AA 10:1 ff), and there were disciples there who accompanied Paul on his journey to Jerusalem (AA 21:16). It was the

residence of Herod Agrippa* during his short reign (AA 12:19), and as the residence of the procurator it was the place to which Paul was taken for custody from Jerusalem (AA 23:23 ff). He was detained there until his appeal to Caesar, and the hearings of his process were conducted at Caesarea (AA 24–26).

Caesarea Philippi. A town in the extreme N of Palestine, the modern Baniyas at one of the sources of the Jordan in the S foothills of Mt Hermon. The city lay near the site of the Israelite city of Dan*. During the Hellenistic* period the town received the name Panion because of the sanctuary of Pan located there. Herod* the Great built a temple to Augustus, and Philip* rebuilt it into a large Hellenistic city, naming it after the emperor and adding his own name to distinguish it from the other cities of the same name. The neighborhood (Mt 16:13) or the village (Mk 8:27) was the scene of Peter's confession; but the passage does not suggest that Jesus actually entered this largely Gentile community.

Caiaphas (Gk *kaiaphas*, meaning unknown). Surname of Joseph, high priest* at the time of the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist* (Lk 3:2) and during the trial of Jesus. He was the son-in-law of Annas*, whose family retained the office of high priest for many years. He was appointed high priest by Valerius Gratus in AD 18 and deposed by Vitellius in AD 36. He was perhaps the first to suggest that Jesus would have to be killed to prevent trouble (Jn 11:49 ff). The plans for the arrest of Jesus were made in his house (Mt 26:3 ff), and the hearing before the Sanhedrin was held there (Mt 26:57 ff; Mk 14:53 ff; Lk 22:54 ff). Caiaphas asked Jesus the question about His messianic claims which enabled the court to vote Him guilty of blasphemy (Mt 27:62 ff; Mk 14:61 ff). Caiaphas also appears among the priests at the trial of Peter and John (AA 4:6), but Annas is called high priest. If the years of his appointment as given by Josephus are correct, this passage and others in which the title is given to Annas must be a recognition of the *de facto* control which Annas exercised over the office and its incumbents.

Cain (Hb *ḵayin*, "smith"), first son of Adam* and Eve* (Gn 4:1), eponymous ancestor of the Kenites*. There is a pun on his name,

probably to be explained as *kanîti 'îš*, "I have gotten a man-child." Several legends, probably independent of each other, are clustered about Cain. He appears as the peasant villain in the story of the feud between peasant and herdsman, which here breaks out for the first time. The motive of his murder of his brother Abel* is his envy because Yahweh has preferred the sacrifice* of Abel; this shows the excellence of animal over vegetable sacrifice. He is condemned to the life of the nomad in the land of Nod*. Since the nomads are protected from attack only by the law of the avenger*, Yahweh makes upon Cain a sign, i.e., marks corresponding to the tattooing which identifies the clan of the nomad and shows that he is protected. A different legend makes Cain the builder of the first city, which he calls Enoch*, after the name of his son; the name means or plays upon the word "foundation." The name Cain also suggests that he once was identified as the inventor of metalworking, which in the traditions of Gn has passed to his descendant Tubal-cain* (Gn 4:22). These traditions of the invention of civilization with its arts and crafts have here been collected under the one line of the first murderer, and thus Hb tradition passed an unfavorable judgment upon the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Canaan, a judgment which is reflected elsewhere in the OT. Hb 11:4 finds Cain's radical vice to be a lack of faith. 1 Jn 3:12 describes him as a child of the evil one. Heretics walk in the way of Cain (Jd 11).

Calah (Hb *kālāh*, Assyrian *kalḫu*, meaning uncertain), in Hb tradition one of the cities built by Nimrod* (Gn 10:11). Calah was an Assyrian city situated on the left bank of the Tigris at the mouth of the upper Zab, about 20 mi S of Nineveh*. It is first mentioned under Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 bc), but fell into ruins in subsequent years. It was rebuilt by Ashur-nasir-pal II (883–859 bc) and remained the seat of the Assyrian king until Sennacherib (704–681 bc) removed his capital to Nineveh. Esarhaddon (680–669 bc) built a new palace in Calah, but Ashur-bani-pal (668–626 bc) again transferred the royal residence to Nineveh. His successor, Ashur-etil-ilani (625–621 bc) built a new palace at Calah which is notably smaller and poorer than the earlier palaces. Excavations of the mound of Nimrud by A. H. Layard (1845–1847) disclosed the palaces of Ashur-nasir-pal, Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon. It is somewhat surprising that the city is mentioned only once in the OT. At Calah was discovered the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, with a picture of the tribute brought by Jehu* of Israel.

Excavations have been conducted by Mallowan since 1949.

Caleb (Hb *kālēb*, "dog?"), the name *klby* occurs in Ugarit* and in Sidon*, written the same way as variant spelling of Chelubai, *k'lūbāy*, 1 Ch 2:9, an early Israelite hero whose name appears later as that of a clan. In Nm 13:6; 14:6, 30; 26:65; 32:12; Dt 1:34 he is the son of Jephunneh of the tribe of Judah*, one of the 12 scouts sent to explore Canaan and the only one to bring a favorable report. For this reason he alone is spared the extinction threatened the others. He is one of the 12 appointed to apportion the land to the tribes (Nm 34:19). This is recalled in Jos 14:6 ff where Caleb receives Hebron as his portion; he evicted the three sons of Anak* (Jos 15:13 ff), and his nephew Othniel*, the son of Kenaz*, captured Kirjath-sepher* (Jos 15:16 ff; Jgs 1:12 ff). In Jgs 1:10–11, however, the capture is attributed to the tribe of Judah with no mention of Caleb; on the other hand, Jephunneh is called a Kenizzite* in Jos 14:6, 14. The allotment of Hebron to Caleb in Jos 14:14; 15:13 explains how the Kenizzites come to have a portion in the tribe of Judah. In the genealogies of Ch Caleb is called the son of Hezron* of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch 2:9, 18) and there can scarcely be question of a different person; the territory described in 1 Ch 2:42–50, in which towns of southern Judah are reckoned as children of Caleb, is the territory of Caleb and the Kenizzites. But Caleb appears again as the son of Jephunneh in 1 Ch 4:15. There is no certain explanation of these confusing data; nor is it necessary to remove Caleb as an individual figure of tradition to explain them. The genealogy of Ch is obviously artificial, in which names of cities are arranged under a clan name as "children" of the clan. The clan of Caleb in the genealogy is reckoned under the clan of Hezron, and it appears identical with the clan of the Kenizzites; on the origin of this clan cf KENIZZITES. The genealogical relationship is easily understood as representing the adoption of the clan of Caleb or the Kenizzites by the clan of Hezron, which made them members of the tribe of Judah.

Calendar. The biblical calendar is based upon a solar year of 365¼ days and a lunar month of 29½ days. A satisfactory solution of the problem of the fractions was never reached in Israel or in Judaism. Twelve lunar months give a year of 354 days; the difference as well as the fraction of a day in a solar year were made up by intercalating a second month of Adar at the end of the year. There is no reference to the means by

which this was computed. The month, *yārē^{ah}*, lit "moon," or *hōdeš*, lit "new moon" began with the new moon and ended with the following new moon. The phases of the moon were not calculated exactly, but the length of 29½ days was known and the new moon could be expected. According to the Talmud the observation was made in Jerusalem and transmitted through the country by signal fires; but the antiquity of this practice is not attested. In early Israel the months were distinguished by number until the Canaanite names of the months were adopted, of which four appear in the OT. With the names the early Israelites probably adopted the Canaanite calendar in substance. After the exile in Babylon (587 BC) the Babylonian names of the months were adopted:

Israelite	Canaanite	Babylonian	Modern
1.	Abib	Nisan	March-April
2.	Ziw	Iyyar	April-May
3.		Siwan	May-June
4.		Tammuz	June-July
5.		Ab	July-August
6.		Elul	August-September
7.	Ethanim	Tishri	September-October
8.	Bul	Marheshwan	October-November
9.		Kislev	November-December
10.		Tebet	December-January
11.		Shebat	January-February
12.		Adar	February-March

The OT exhibits two points for the beginning of the year. The Babylonian calendar and the Hb numeration of the months both begin in the spring with the 1st of Nisan. The feast of the new year*, however, was celebrated on the 1st of Tishri, the 7th month, in the autumn. Evidence is lacking to show the origin and the relationship of these two calculations. The Nisan new year is attributed to Moses (Ex 12:20), but it could easily have been traditional before the time of Moses, especially since the patriarchs were of Mesopotamian origin, and Canaan was under Mesopotamian cultural influence during much of the early 2nd millennium BC. Hence it appears likely that the autumn new year was of Israelite origin.

Calneh, Calno. 1. Hb *kalneh*, one of the cities built by Nimrod* in the land of Shinar* (Gn 10:10). No such name is known in Mesopotamia, and W. F. Albright has shown that the name should be read *kallaneh*, "all of them." 2. A city mentioned with Hamath* and Gath* in Am 6:2, and probably the same as Calno (Hb *kalnō*) mentioned with Carchemish*, Hamath*, and

Arpad* among cities conquered by the Assyrians; hence a location in northern Syria is indicated. A city of Kullani in Syria is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser* III (745-727 BC).

Calvary. Cf GOLGOTHA.

Camel. The camel is mentioned frequently in the OT as a beast of riding and of burden and as a form of wealth. W. F. Albright and others have presented very serious arguments to show that the camel was not domesticated before the Late Bronze Age and that the earliest historical mention of the camel in the OT is its appearance in the story of raids of the Midianites* on Israel (Jgs 6:5; 7:12; 8:21, 26). Consequently the camels included in the patriarchal stories must be regarded as anachronisms; they are found among the wealth of Abraham (Gn 12:16) and Jacob (Gn 30:43; 32:8, 15) and of the Egyptians (Ex 9:3). They appear as riding animals and gifts (Gn 24; 31:17, 34) and in a caravan of traders (Gn 37:25). The camel was ritually unclean (Lv 11:4; Dt 14:7). The absence of the camel in documents and art from periods earlier than the Late Bronze Age is very telling against its use in the patriarchal period. After the Late Bronze Age the camel is possessed by nomadic tribes (1 S 15:3; 30:17) and by the men of Judah (1 S 27:9), and was part of the wealth of the queen of Sheba* (1 K 10:2). A caravan of 40 camels appears in the stories of Elisha (2 K 8:9). The superstitions of Jerusalem are compared to the lust of the she-camel (Je 2:23 f).

The camel mentioned in the OT is most probably the dromedary with one hump; this species was most easily acquired in Palestine and was the most common type elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The Bactrian camel with two humps was known; it appears in the tribute offered to Ashurnasir-pal II of Assyria (ANEP 351, 353). Camels are employed in battle by Arabian tribesmen in sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III (ANEP 375) and Ashur-bani-pal (ANEP 63) and are stabled in the Assyrian camp (ANEP 170). They are part of the booty of war (ANEP 187). A sculpture of the 9th century from Tell Halaf represents a camel rider (ANEP 188).

The camel represented a minor revolution in nomadic life and commerce in the ancient Near East. It gave nomadic tribes much more mobility and permitted them to claim larger areas for their pastures. "The ship of the desert" made possible a much more rapid and wide exchange of goods between areas separated by the Syrian and Arabian deserts. Its skin served for the manufacture



A desert scene. A modern camel caravan.

of tent fabric and for human clothing (Elijah, John the Baptist). Its milk is esteemed by nomads. It does not seem to have had a profound effect on the technique of ancient war.

In the NT the camel is mentioned only in figures of speech: the camel which cannot pass through the eye of the needle (Mt 19:24; Mk 10:25; Lk 18:25), and the camel which the Pharisees swallow while they strain out the gnat (Mt 23:24). The violence of both figures led a number of critics to suspect that the original reading was Gk *kamilos*, cable (pronounced like *kamēlos*, "camel," in later Gk). The MS evidence, however, supports *kamēlos* fully; and the violence of the metaphor is less in ancient Near Eastern speech than it would be in modern speech. Hyperbole is common in oriental languages. The figure of the camel passing through the eye of the needle expresses not difficulty but impossibility; and the figure of the camel which is swallowed is intended to affirm that no crime is too great for the Pharisees to tolerate if it can be in some way "legalized."

Camp. The encampment of modern nomadic tribes is set up at random in a cluster, and nothing indicates that the nomadic camps of OT times followed a more precise pattern. If there is danger of attack the tents are

grouped more closely in a circle. The Israelite camp described by the P source of the Pnt in Nm 2 is set up in a square around the tent of meeting with three tribes on each side; this schematic arrangement is an ideal created by the imagination of the priestly writer, but it is not without resemblance to the formal arrangement of the fortified camp of the Roman legion, built in a square with two intersecting avenues. The Assyrian improvements in military technique probably included the arrangement and fortification of the camp, but it is not represented in their art.

Cana (Gk *kana*, meaning uncertain), a town of Galilee; the scene of the wedding where Jesus changed water into wine (Jn 2:1-11), revisited by Jesus (Jn 4:46), the home of Nathanael* (Jn 21:2). The site is uncertain; tradition places Cana at Kefr Kenna, five mi NE of Nazareth, but many scholars believe that Khirbet Qanah, nine mi N of Nazareth, is more probable.

Canaan, Canaanite (Hb *kə'nā'an*), the name of the land lying between Syria and Egypt in which the Israelites settled. The name occurs both in Egyptian and in cuneiform records during the 2nd millennium BC. The origin and meaning of the name are uncertain. Recently a connection with *kinahhu*



Cana.

of the Nuzu* tablets has been suggested; there the word means purple wool, one of the most famous products of Canaan (cf Gk Phoenicia* *phoinix*, "purple"), and *mat kinahhi* is taken to mean "land of purple wool." The etymology, however, could run in the opposite direction; purple wool would be a "product of Canaan," a phenomenon often observed in linguistic borrowings (Eng wiener, champagne, damask, calico). The boundaries of Canaan fluctuate in the different sources. Cuneiform sources give no clear idea of what they meant by the term, preferring the designation Amurru (cf AMORITES) for the entire west, or mentioning particular regions or cities by name. In the Amarna* letters Amurru sometimes means Syria .N of Beirut; elsewhere in the letters, cities N of this line are called Canaanite, and the term appears to signify the entire coast of Syria and Palestine and the hinterland as far as the Jordan. The name Amurru, consequently, is correspondingly restricted to the Lebanon* and Anti-Lebanon. The Egyptians used the name Canaanites exceptionally, preferring other names (Haru, Retenu). The population of Palestine and southern Phoenicia was Canaanite in the second half of the second millennium BC, and it is impossible at present to state when this people entered the country. The progressive depopulation of Palestine from 2300–2100 BC has no certain explanation; it is clear that the Canaanites were forced S after 2000 BC by a barbarian invasion of non-Semitic hordes; cf HURRIANS, HYKSOS. After the Egyptian conquest of Palestine in the 15th

century BC there was a further depopulation and lowering of the cultural level, which is attributed at least in part to the oppression and plundering of the Egyptian rulers. The Canaanites, thus weakened, were invaded not only by the Hebrews, but also by the Philistines* and Aramaeans*, and Canaanite civilization thereafter flourished in Phoenicia. The Canaanites in Israelite territory were either conquered or survived by treaty as distinct cities; in either case, the Canaanite population was absorbed by Israel in the course of time.

In Hb folklore Canaan was the son of Ham* and the brother of Cush*, Egypt*, and Put* (Gn 9:18 ff; 10:6); this is an artificial arrangement, since the Canaanites were as much "Semites" as were the Hebrews. Both this notice and the curse of Noah on Ham (for whose name Canaan is substituted in Gn 9:25–27) reflect the Hebrew revulsion from Canaanite civilization and religion, just as the allusion to the slavery of Canaan reflects the position of the Canaanites as a subject people. Canaan begot Sidon* as his firstborn—a reference to the antiquity of Sidon, although it was not the oldest of the Phoenician cities (Gn 10:15); he was also the "father" of the other tribes mentioned as present in Canaan at the time of the Hebrew invasion. The Canaanites were scattered from Sidon to Gaza* and Sodom* (Gn 10:19); this does not correspond precisely to the boundaries of Canaan described above. The land of the Canaanites is called the seashore (Dt 1:7; Jos 5:1), as distinguished from the mountains of the Amorites, the valley of the Jordan, the hill-country, the Shephelah*, and

the Lebanon. In Dt 11:30 (probably a gloss) the Canaanites live in the Jordan valley. In Nm 13:29 the Canaanites inhabit the seashore and the Jordan valley, while the Amorites, Hittites*, and Jebusites* inhabit the mountains; this division is not always followed. Canaanite enclaves in Israelite territory are mentioned expressly in Manasseh* (Jos 17:11 ff; Jgs 1:27), Ephraim*, Zebulun*, Asher*, Naphtali* (Jgs 1:28–33), and the assimilation of the two peoples is mentioned in Jgs 3:5. The Canaanite town of Gezer* did not pass into Israelite hands until the time of Solomon* (1 K 9:16). The use of "Canaanite" to mean "merchant" or "trader" (Jb 40:30; Pr 31:24; Is 23:8; probably also Ho 12:8; Zp 1:11) in later Hb literature indicates that merchandising was largely in the hands of the Canaanites during the Hb monarchy.

The influence of the Canaanites upon the Hebrews in religion, culture, and other human activities was incalculable and is noticed under separate articles.

Candace (Gk *kandakē*, from Ethiopic *ken-teky*), dynastic title of the queens of Ethiopia*, probably Meroe in Nubia. A eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia was converted to Christianity by the deacon Philip* (AA 8:27).

Candle, Candlestick. A common Eng mis-translation of "lamp"*, "lampstand." Candles i.e., tapers of wax, tallow, etc., dipped or molded around a wick of thread, while known to the Etruscans and Romans, are not mentioned in the Bible.

Canon (Gk *kanōn*, Hb *kāneh*, "reed," used as an instrument of measure; hence measure or rule.) In its four appearances in the NT it means either a field of apostolic labor, an apportionment (2 Co 10:13–16) or a general statement of a point of doctrine (Gal 6:16). In ecclesiastical usage the word came early to mean the rule of faith, i.e., the statement of Christian dogma, either entire or in some detail; thus the statements of councils were called canons. Disciplinary regulations of ecclesiastical authorities were also called canons, "rules" of life. The fixed part of the Mass, in contrast to the changeable parts which follow seasons and feasts, was called the canon. Canon also signifies a list or enumeration; and in this sense the canon of the Bible means the authoritative list of the books contained in the Bible. A book is canonical because it is inspired (cf INSPIRATION); but the two words do not mean the same thing. An inspired book is a book written by God through the instrumentality of a human author; a canonical

book is a book recognized by the Church as inspired and proposed to the faithful as the word of God and a source of revealed doctrine. In Catholic belief the canonicity of the Bible is determined entirely by the tradition of the Church, which alone is empowered, as the custodian of divine revelation, to determine the sacred books. Catholic belief differs here from Protestant belief, which determines canonicity by the capacity of the book to communicate religious experience, or by Jewish tradition and apostolic authorship. It is not possible to trace the earliest stages in the formation of the Catholic tradition of the canon; in general, it contains the OT as accepted by the apostles and the NT as a collection of apostolic writings, at least indirectly (Mark, Luke). The canonicity of the NT books, however, is independent of the question of their apostolic authorship.

1. *The Canon of the Old Testament.* It is probably not correct to speak of a Jewish canon of the Bible before the Christian era, when controversy with the Christians made it necessary to determine a canon. That the Jews had a collection of sacred books before the Christian era is evident. In the OT itself there are allusions to the writing and preservation of books or parts of books (Ex 17:14; 24:4; Nm 33:2; Dt 31:24 ff; Jos 24:25 ff; 1 S 10:25; Pr 25:1; Is 30:8; Je 36:2 ff). These passages, however, do not indicate the sacred character of the books. This is seen in Dn 9:2; 1 Mc 12:9; probably also in Ne 8:1 ff; 2 Mc 2:13–15. The extent of the collection is not entirely certain. Modern Jews accept the canon as it is found in the Masoretic Hebrew text counting 24 books: (1) The Law: Gn, Ex, Lv, Nm, Dt. (2) The Prophets, divided into the former prophets: Jos, Jgs, 1–2 S, 1–2 K; and the latter prophets: Is, Je, Ezk, the 12 prophets counted as one book (Ho, Jl, Am, Ob, Mi, Jon, Na, Hab, Zp, Hg, Zc, Mal). (3) The Writings: 1–2 Ch, Ezr-Ne, Est, Rt, Pss, Pr, Jb, Lam, Ec, SS, Dn. The Alexandrian Gk translation made by Jews in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC (LXX; cf SEPTUAGINT) contains in addition 1–2 Mc, Tb, Jdt, BS, WS, Bar, and some additional parts in Dn and Est (cf DANIEL; ESTHER). These books are called deuterocanonical. Both these collections are of Jewish origin and their relations are difficult to trace. BS 44–50, "the praise of the fathers," written about 180 BC in Palestine, alludes to all the books of the Hb canon except Dn, Ezr, and Est; hence it may be suspected that these books were not included in the collection at this date. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, writing in AD 93, testifies to 22 sacred and divinely inspired books, which are easily identified with

the Hb canon; the books were sometimes numbered as 22 instead of 24 by counting Jgs-Rt and Je-Lam as single books, thus reaching a number identical with the number of letters in the Hb alphabet. Josephus also alludes to a rabbinical tradition that Ezra closed the canon of the Bible; this tradition, which is unfounded in fact, is probably an implicit attack on the Alexandrian collection. Another rabbinical tradition attributes the definition of the canon to a synod at Jamnia in Palestine about 100 AD; but here also there is little reliable information on the activities of this synod.

Both the Palestinian collection represented by the Hb text and the Alexandrian collection represented by the Gk version almost certainly came from a gradual and unplanned development. The three divisions of Law, Prophets, and Writings may be taken to represent three stages in which the collection grew in that order; in the time of BS, for instance, the collection of the Writings was not yet complete. Neither the arrangement nor the order of the books in the Alexandrian collection follows the Hb collection; this suggests that the collection was still fluid both in arrangement and in content. Had there been a Palestinian "canon," it is difficult to see how the Alexandrian Jews, who followed the spiritual leadership of the Jerusalem rabbis, could have formed a different canon. The Samaritans, who seceded from the Jews some time after 400 BC, never accepted any book as sacred except the Law. In the NT we find Jesus and the apostles accepting, in common with the Jews, a collection of sacred books, and the titles used fit the three-fold division of the Hb books; but the content of the collection cannot be determined from the NT. All the books of the Hb canon are quoted expressly except Ezr, Ne, Est, Rt, Ec, SS, Ob, Na. Of 350 quotations of the OT in the NT it is estimated that about 300 are the same as the LXX, and that the LXX was the principal source of these quotations. No deuterocanonical book is quoted, although echoes and allusions are found to Mc, BS, WS. From the time of Paul onwards there can be little doubt that the LXX, with the deuterocanonical books, was the OT of the apostolic church; it was probably adopted because Gk was the common language of the Mediterranean lands. This acceptance of the sacred books as found in the LXX perseveres in all the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries AD except Melito of Sardis (+ about 193), who cites the Hb canon; the fact of a difference is mentioned by Origen (+ 254), who affirms the right of Christians to employ the deuterocanonical books, even though they are not accepted by the Jews. The same canon is found in all the

official canons: the Cheltenham Canon, about 350; the canons of Hippo (393), Carthage (397), and Innocent I (405), except the canon of Laodicea (360).

Hence it is difficult to explain how some fathers in the 4th century returned to the Hb canon, explicitly rejecting the deuterocanonical books: Athanasius (+ 373), Cyril of Jerusalem (+ 386), Hilary of Poitiers (+ 366), Jerome (+ 420), Rufinus (+ 410), Gregory of Nazianzen (+ 390). The root of this opinion is to be found in Jerome in his studies with Jews, and probably the same influence is to be sought in the others; it is also to be noted that the opinion appears in the east and in Lt fathers who lived for long periods in the east. The authority of these fathers was so great that their opinion survived in learned circles until the 16th century, although the council of Florence (1441) set forth the Alexandrian canon. In the sessions of the Council of Trent some of the fathers wished the opinion of Jerome to be defined, or at least to qualify acceptance of the deuterocanonical books in some way. The Reformers, in their campaign to return to the primitive faith, rejected the Alexandrian canon as a later addition and accepted only those books which are contained in the Hb text. Hence the Council of Trent made its first business the definition of the sources of revealed doctrine, and after some remarkably vigorous disputes proposed in its session of April 8, 1546, the books of the following canon of the OT, which it accepted "with equal devotion and reverence":

Five books of Moses, namely, Gn, Ex, Lv, Nm, Dt, followed by Jos, Jgs, 1-2 S, 1-2 K, 1-2 Ch, Ezr-Ne, Tb, Jdt, Est, 1-2 Mc, Rt, Pss, Pr, Jb, Lam, Ec, SS, BS, WS, Is, Je, Ezk, Bar, Dn, Ho, Jl, Am, Ob, Mi, Jon, Na, Hab, Zp, Hg, Zc, Mal.

The rejection of these books was condemned as heretical, and thus the question was closed among Catholics. The reformed churches have adhered to the Jewish canon, although many modern Protestants admit the spiritual value of some of the deuterocanonical books.

2. *The Canon of the New Testament.* The collection of the books of the NT as sacred probably began with the preservation of the writings from apostolic circles; the apostles, as eyewitnesses of the life and teaching of Jesus and as those upon whom the Holy Spirit had descended in tongues of flame, were the legitimate successors of the prophets. It is remarkable that the beginnings of such a collection appear even in the 1st century. Quotations from NT books (usually implicit) are found in the writings of Clement of Rome (+ 100), Ignatius of Antioch (+ 107), Polycarp of Smyrna (+ 156), the

Shepherd of Hermas, written at Rome about 140–155, and the anonymous *Didache Apostolorum* (*Teaching of the Apostles*), written 80–100 in Syria or Palestine. After 150 the NT is quoted as Scripture, a sacred book of equal standing with the OT. But the earliest canon of the NT proceeds from a heretic, not from orthodox Christians. Marcion (about 150) rejected the entire OT and of the NT accepted only an abbreviated Lk, Rm, 1–2 Co, Gal, Eph, Col, 1–2 Th, Phl, Phm. This no doubt hastened the definition of an orthodox canon, which first appeared in the Muratorian Fragment, written about 200. This fragment omits Heb, Js, 1–2 Pt.

While there was never such a doubt about the NT canon as was expressed about the OT, local and personal doubts persisted about certain books, especially in the east, down to the 5th or 6th century; the books in question were Heb, Js, 2 Pt, 2–3 Jn, Jd, Apc. Reasons for the doubts can be assigned in each case: Heb and 2 Pt because of differences in style between these works and the works of Paul and 1 Pt (cf HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE; PETER, EPISTLES OF); Js and Jd

because some doctrinal difficulties were suspected; 2–3 Jn because the matter was thought to be trivial; Apc because of its style and obscurity. The traditional canon was accepted with no other difficulty up to the 16th century. Erasmus and Cajetan, misled by spurious erudition, revived some of the ancient doubts. Luther and some other German reformers rejected Jd, Heb, Js, and Apc; Luther's objection to Js for teaching that faith without works is dead is well known. The other reformed churches, however, did not dispute the canon, and the Lutherans returned to the traditional canon in the 17th century. The Council of Trent in the session of April 8, 1546, defined the following canon of the NT:

Four Gospels: Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn; AA written by Lk; 14 epistles of St. Paul, i.e., Rm, 1–2 Co, Gal, Eph, Phl, Col, 1–2 Th, 1–2 Tm, Tt, Phm, Heb; 1–2 Pt, 1–2–3 Jn, Js, Jd, Apc of John the Apostle.

Capernaum (Gk *kapharnaûm*, Aramaic *kəpar nahûm*, meaning uncertain), a town of Galilee, identified with the modern Tell Hum



a) Ruins of synagogue at Capernaum.
b) Roman columns at Capernaum.

on the N shore of the Sea of Galilee W of the Jordan. The site lies 23 mi from Nazareth. In the Synoptic Gospels Capernaum is the center of the activity of Jesus in Galilee; Mt 4:13 states that He established His own residence there, and in Mt 9:1 Capernaum is called "his own city." Jesus began His public ministry by teaching in the synagogue of Capernaum on the Sabbath (Mk 1:21; Lk 4:31). Capernaum was the scene of the healing of the centurion's servant (Mt 8:5-13; Lk 7:1-10), the healing of the man with the palsy (Mk 2:1-12), of the payment of the temple tax (Mt 17:24-27) and the discussion of the disciples and the accompanying saying of Jesus about who is the greatest (Mk 9:33-37). Most of the incidents and discourses of the first part of the Synoptic Gospels occurred in or near Capernaum, although the name of the city often is not mentioned. The wonders Jesus worked at Capernaum were referred to by the men of Nazareth (Lk 4:23). Capernaum was among the Galilean towns which Jesus cursed for their unbelief (Mt 11:23; Lk 10:15).

As the Galilean ministry is less prominent in Jn, Capernaum is mentioned less frequently. In Jn's account Jesus went to Capernaum from Cana* (Jn 2:12) for a sojourn of a few days. On His return from Jerusalem He healed the ruler's son of Capernaum without entering the city (Jn 4:46-54). Jn alludes to the teaching of Jesus in the synagogue of Capernaum (Jn 6:59) and locates the miracle of the multiplication across the lake from Capernaum (Jn 6:17, 24).

The site has not been thoroughly excavated and it is not known how far back the occupation goes. The remains of a synagogue at Tell Hum were excavated by the Franciscans after the first World War; but the synagogue was built no earlier than 200 AD. It is possible that it was constructed on the foundations of the synagogue which existed there in the 1st century.

Caph. The 11th letter of the Hb alphabet, with the value of *k*.

Caphtor (Hb *kaptōr*, meaning uncertain), the original home of the Philistines* (Am 9:7); the Philistines are the "remnant of Caphtor" in later times (Je 47:4). The Caphtorim were a "son" of Egypt (Gn 10:14; 1 Ch 1:12), and from them came the Philistines. The Caphtorim occupied the territory of the Awwim (Dt 2:23); they must be identical with the Philistines. The LXX rendered Caphtor as Cappadocia*; in modern times Crete* and the coast of Cilicia* have been suggested, but there are serious difficulties against both. It may be regarded as certain

that Caphtor is to be found in the Aegean basin.

Cappadocia (Gk *kappadokia*), in LXX erroneously renders Caphtor*; a region of Asia Minor N of the Taurus and east of the Halys. It was a part of the kingdom of Pontus until it was established as a Roman province in AD 17. Jews from Cappadocia were present in Jerusalem at Pentecost (AA 2:9), and Christians of Cappadocia are addressed in 1 Pt 1:1.

Captain. In Eng versions used to translate several Hb or Gk words representing army* officers in all degrees from commander in chief to leader of a small company. Cf CENTURION; LEGION.

Captivity. Cf EXILE.

Carchemish (Hb *karkēmiš*, Akkadian Gargamish), modern Jerablus; a city on the right bank of the Euphrates about 65 mi NE of Aleppo. It was an extremely important military and commercial center; the trade routes from Assyria passed through Carchemish to Asia Minor in the north and to Phoenicia on the south. It was one of the strong points of the Hittite* empire; excavations conducted by the British Museum 1912-1914 disclosed that its culture remained distinctly Hittite from the 11th to the 9th centuries, after which it yielded to Aramaean* influence. The Hittite hieroglyphs of the site are being deciphered. It is mentioned often in both Egyptian and Mesopotamian historical records. It was conquered by Sargon* of Assyria in 717 BC and reduced from a vassal state to an Assyrian province (alluded to in Is 10:9). It was the scene of a decisive battle in 605 BC between the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar* and the Egyptians under Necho* (alluded to in 2 Ch 35:20) for the control of the Assyrian empire. Necho, who had marched to aid the Assyrians in their last stand, was defeated and the way was opened for Nebuchadnezzar to conquer all of Syria and Palestine, including the kingdom of Judah.

Carmel (Hb *karmel*, "orchard"). 1. A town of Judah (Jos 15:55), identified with the modern el Kirmil about 8 mi S of Hebron. It appears as the home of Nabal* and Abigail* (1 S 25:2 ff; 27:3; 30:5; 2 S 2:2; 3:3; 1 Ch 3:1) and of David's hero Hozai (2 S 23:35; 1 Ch 11:37), and was one of the points passed by Saul in his campaign against the Amalekites* (1 S 15:12).

2. A mountain on the border of Asher (Jos 19:26); the town of Jokneam lay at



a) Mount Carmel.
b) Summit of Mount Carmel.

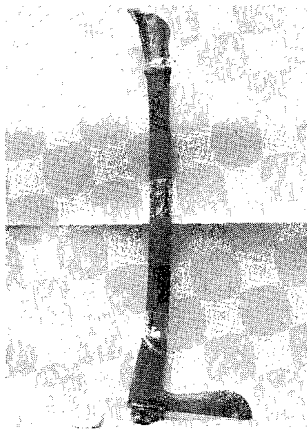
its foot on the SW (Jos 12:22). Mt Carmel is a promontory which terminates the central range of Palestine, from which it is interrupted by the pass of Megiddo*. From the pass Carmel extends NNW to within 200 yards of the Mediterranean, making it possible for the road along the sea to be closed by a very small force; for this reason the principal route in ancient times traversed the pass of Megiddo. To the N of Carmel lies the Bay of Acre; the modern city of Haifa is built at the foot of Carmel on

the bay. Carmel rises to a height of less than 2000 ft, but it ascends steeply from the sea and the surrounding country and thus is prominent in appearance and difficult of access. In ancient times it was not intensively occupied; the several levels of prehistoric occupation found there would indicate a larger population in the Stone Age than in historic times. At present Carmel is covered with heavy thickets; the OT alludes several times to its covering of forests (Is 33:9; 35:2; Am 1:2; Na 1:4) as well

as to its height and prominence (Je 46:18; Am 9:3); the head of the beloved is compared to Carmel (SS 7:6). It is called a rich land in Je 50:19. Carmel was the scene of the ordeal of Elijah and the priests of the Baal (1 K 18:19 f, 42); the election of this spot suggests the presence of a sanctuary of the Baal on the mountain. Carmel seems to have been at least an occasional residence of Elisha* (2 K 2:25; 4:25), and was possibly a center of the associations of the prophets*.

Carnaim (Hh *karnayim*, "horns"), a town in Bashan*, the scene of the defeat of Timotheus* by Judas* (1 Mc 5:26, 43 f; 2 Mc 12:21; Carnion in 2 Mc). The site is probably Sheikh Saad, E of the Sea of Galilee and a few miles from Ashtaroth*. The name is combined with Ashtaroth in Ashtaroth-Carnaim (Gn 14:5).

Carpenter. Simple wood* work was done before the invention of metal tools. In Egypt metal tools appeared in the late predynastic period and are easily recognized in tomb painting: adze, axe, chisel, saw, drills, mallets. In Mesopotamia the crafts were usually hereditary and were formed into guilds; the trade was learned in groups which served their apprenticeship under a master. In both Egypt and Mesopotamia wood carving and joining reached a high degree of skill. Among



Adze.

the Israelites before the monarchy the craft was not so highly developed; David* obtained carpenters for his building projects from Hiram* of Tyre* (2 S 5:11). They appear in the time of Jehoash* of Judah (837-800) and of Jehoiakin* (598), probably organized in guilds. The carpenter's tools have been found in excavations: axe, saw, chisel, hammer, drills, nails; Is 44:13

mentions measuring-line, plane, and compass. Metal saws were rare even as late as the Iron Age; flint saws were found belonging to this period. Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine are all poor in wood apt for construction; on its use cf wood. Joseph, the husband of Mary, was a carpenter (Mt 13:55) and Jesus pursued the trade before He began to preach (Mk 6:3).

Carpus (Gk *karpos*), a Christian of Troas*, with whom Paul left his cloak (2 Tm 4:13).

Cart. Two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts were in use in Mesopotamia as early as the Sumerian* period. The early carts appear with solid disk wooden wheels; the Assyrian carts had wheels with spokes. They were drawn by oxen, asses, or mules. The chariot* was a more common wheeled vehicle; carts were used for the transportation of people or of goods too bulky for beasts of burden. On ancient roads beasts of burden or porters could transport goods more conveniently and quickly. Carts are sometimes represented with covered bodies. Galling believes the Israelites learned their use from the Philistines, who employed a cart to transport the ark (1 S 6:7 ff) as David did to bring it to Jerusalem (2 S 6:3 ff; 1 Ch 13:7). Otherwise the cart is mentioned rarely in the OT (Gn 45:19 ff; 46:5; Nm 7:3 ff; Is 28:27 f; 5:18; 66:20; Am 2:13).

Castor and Pollux. Two heroes of Gk mythology, the *dioskouroi* or "twins" on the figure-head of the ship which took Paul from Malta* to Puteoli* (AA 28:11). They were both sons of Leda: Castor by her husband Tyndareus, king of Sparta, and Pollux by Zeus. When Castor was killed, Pollux was offered immortality by Zeus, but he would not accept it unless he could share it on alternate days with his brother.

Catholic Epistles. Cf JAMES; JOHN, EPISTLES; JUDE; PETER, EPISTLES.

Cave. The limestone hills of Palestine are full of caves, sometimes quite large, and the Bible has numerous reference to their use as temporary or even permanent shelters (Gn 19:30; Jos 10:16; Jgs 6:2; 1 S 13:6; 22:1; 24:3; 2 Mc 6:11+). They were a refuge for fugitives from war or from the law. They were also used as shelters for cattle, and tradition has long placed the birth of Jesus in such a cave near Bethlehem*. The Qumran* Scrolls were discovered in a cave; later exploration revealed the Qumran sectaries used an entire series of

caves in the region. Caves either natural or artificially enlarged were used for burial*. Explorations of caves have disclosed their use by prehistoric man possibly as much as 100,000 years ago.

Cedar. The 400 or so cedars which are carefully preserved on the slopes of Lebanon* are a pitiful remnant of the forests which covered those slopes in pre-Christian times and furnished essential material for the temples and palaces of the ancient world. The *cedrus libani*, the cedar of Lebanon, is now found at an altitude of 6,000 ft. It grows to a height of 60-70 ft, and specimens in the Taurus range attain a height of 100 ft; in ancient times this height, mentioned in an Egyptian record, was perhaps exceeded. Its trunk reaches 40 ft in circumference, and the horizontal width of its branches approaches the height of the tree. Its cones are 3-5 in. in length. Its aromatic wood is adapted to all kinds of working, and it was the only tree in the ancient world which could furnish beams and joists for large buildings. Its use for masts (Ezk 27:5) is questioned by some scholars. Cedar imported from Lebanon was used in Egypt in the predynastic period. It was felled and seasoned in the mountains; the logs were lashed into rafts and floated down the coast from the Phoenician cities to the Nile. Allusions to the acquisition of cedar are frequent in the records of the conquering Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty. The "cedar mountain," as Lebanon was called by Baby-

lonians and Assyrians, was reached by Sargon (about 2350 BC) and cedar was imported at least as early as Ur-nammu (about 2050 BC). The transportation, which was at least partly overland, must have been extremely difficult. It is mentioned often in Assyrian records as gained by tribute or conquest. The Israelite poet makes the cedars rejoice at the fall of the Mesopotamian conqueror (Is 14:8; 37:24). David was the first Israelite ruler to import it from Hiram* of Tyre* (2 S 5:11), although it was known before that time. Solomon imported it for his palace and temple; it was floated down the coast in rafts (1 K 5:6 ff). There was no one in Israel who knew how to cut timber like the Sidonians (1 K 5:6 ff). The temple was built with cedar beams and cedar paneling (1 K 5:24; 6:9 f, 15 f). It was an exaggeration of popular tradition that cedar in Solomon's times was as common as the native sycamore (1 K 10:27). It was a sign of luxury in Jehoiakim* which Jeremiah reproved that he wished to outdo others in building with cedar (Je 22:14 f), and of the vanity of the men of Samaria* that they thought they could replace sycamore with cedar after the catastrophe of the Assyrian conquest of 734 (Is 9:9). The cedar is a biblical symbol of pride (Is 2:13; Ezk 31:3; Zc 11:2), of strength (2 K 14:9; Ps 29:5; Am 2:9), of security and prosperity (Nm 24:6; Je 22:23). Ezekiel in a protracted figure describes the royal house of Judah as a mighty cedar (Ezk 17:3 ff), of which Jehoiachin* is a



A cedar grove on Mt. Lebanon.

twig transplanted. The righteous will flourish like the cedar of Lebanon (Ps 92:13).

Cenchrae (Gk *kegchraei*), the port city of Corinth* on the Saronic Gulf, about 7 mi from Corinth. Paul took a ship from there to Ephesus* and had his hair cut because of a Nazirite* vow (AA 18:18). It was the home of the deaconess Phoebe* (Rm 16:1).

Cendebaeus (Gk *kendebaios*), appointed commander of the Phoenician and Palestinian coast by Antiochus* VII Sidetes (138–129 BC). He raided Jewish towns and villages until he was routed by an army under Judas and John Hyrcanus (1 Mc 15:38 ff). Cf HASMONEAN.

Censer (Hb *maḥtāh*), a fire pan or fire holder in which hot coals were contained on which incense* was sprinkled (Lv 10:1; 16:12). Their form and appearance cannot be reconstructed; it must have been a pan or bowl with a handle. They were made of bronze* (Ex 27:3); the censers of Solomon's temple were made of gold* (1 K 7:50) and are mentioned among the plunder taken by the Babylonians in 587 BC (2 K 25:15).

Census. The enumeration of citizens and surveys of land are an ancient function of government. Land surveys were made in Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The records of Mari*, Ugarit*, and Alalakh all contain census lists, and it is easily assumed that the practice was general in the organized societies of the ancient Near East. The purpose of the census in ancient as in modern times was to establish a basis for the levying of taxes and for military service; it was a counting of the national resources.

The only census mentioned in Israel is the census undertaken by David (2 S 24; 1 Ch 21). This is generally thought to have been the first; whether it was the first or not, the narrative of the census certainly shows the popular idea of the census as a challenge of the deity, an expression of pride which is punished. The purpose of the census was no doubt the same as for other censuses; in addition, one of the purposes in Israel was very probably to determine the basis for assignment of forced labor for the king. W. F. Albright proposed that the census lists in Nm 1 and 26 represent the census lists of David. G. E. Mendenhall more recently has suggested that they belong to the early period of the tribal confederation of Israel*. Cf THOUSAND.

The census of Lk 2:1 is described as a census of the whole world (i.e., of the Roman

dominions) made at the command of Augustus. This universal census is otherwise unknown to history and there are serious reasons for doubting that Lk here reports a historical fact. The *Monumentum Ancyranum*, an inscription of Augustus, mentions three censuses of Roman citizens: 28 BC, 8 BC, and AD 14. The second of these would suit the date, but it cannot have been taken in Palestine; for it was a census of Roman citizens, and Palestine at that time was the kingdom of Herod the Great and not under Roman administration. Any census taken at this date would have been a census of Herod. The census is associated by Lk 2:1 with Quirinius, legate of Syria; in addition to the fact that Palestine was not in the province of Syria at this time, the census taken under Quirinius is dated by Josephus in AD 6–7. Outside of the difficulty of supposing a Roman census in a technically non-Roman territory, it is not unlikely that a provincial census like that of AD 6–7 may have occurred which is not mentioned elsewhere. Egyptian papyri suggest that a census was taken in Egypt every 14 years from 6–5 BC; but Egypt was a Roman province after 30 BC. Tertullian in the 2nd century mentions a census taken in Syria under the administration of Sentius Saturninus, 8–6 BC; this was the general census mentioned on the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Tertullian, however, may from apologetic motives be extending this census to an area which was not included in it. It is furthermore striking that the Roman method of enumeration is not described in Lk; the Roman census enumerated the head of the family at his place of residence and did not enumerate his wife. The enumeration of a man and his wife in his birthplace is attested for Egypt under Augustus, and it is not impossible that it was used in Palestine also.

It is therefore difficult to accept many of the postulates demanded by the census as Lk describes it; it is not impossible, but a solution which is based on the type of literature found in the Infancy* Gospels should not be neglected. These passages contain more midrash* than the other portions of the Gospels. Here Lk or his sources can be understood as a construction based on the compilation of some elements known but not accurately recorded and other elements which are midrashic reflections on these known but not verified facts. The sources knew of the universal census of Augustus and the Syrian census of Quirinius, but from incomplete recollection the two were conflated into one. This one becomes the order of the king of all the world which brings it about that the messianic king of

all the world, the son of David, is born in Bethlehem, the city of David.

Centurion (Lt *centurio*, Gk *kenturiōn* or *hekatontarchēs*), literally officer over 100 (*centum*) men; cf **LEGION**. Small local posts were usually commanded by a centurion. It is interesting to note that each of these Roman professional soldiers who is mentioned in the NT appears as an honest and kindly man. The centurion who commanded the squad which executed Jesus confessed that He was the Son of God (Mt 27:54) and innocent of the charges (Lk 23:47). The unusual humanity of the centurion of Capernaum (Mt 8:5 ff; Lk 7:2 ff) is evident from his care for his sick slave, whom he asked Jesus to cure, as well as by his friendly relations with the Jews, for whom he had built a synagogue. Of him Jesus said that He had not found such faith in Israel, because he knew that Jesus could effect the cure by a word alone without a personal visit; and the Church employs his profession of humility daily when the Eucharist is received. Cornelius*, the centurion stationed at Joppa*, was converted by Peter (AA 10:1 ff). One centurion helped to save Paul from a scourging (AA 22:25 ff), and another to save him from a Jewish plot to murder him (AA 23:17 ff), and Paul was taken to Rome in the custody of the centurion Julius* (AA 27:1 ff).

Cephas (Aramaic *kēpā'*, "the rock"), the nickname given to Simon* by Jesus, but found in the Gospels only in Jn 1:2; elsewhere it appears in its Gk equivalent *petros*, Peter*. It is somewhat remarkable that Paul uses the Aramaic name eight out of ten times (all in 1 Co and Gal) and the Gk twice. This doubtless represents the most primitive usage; by the time the Gospels were written the Gk had displaced the Aramaic name.

Chaff. Husks and straw; in Palestinian threshing* the chaff was thrown into the air to be blown away by the wind. Chaff or straw thus blown away or consumed by flame is a common biblical metaphor for the sudden destruction of the wicked (Ex 15:7; Pss 1:4; 35:5; Jb 13:25; 21:18; Is 5:24; 17:13; 29:5; 33:11; 40:24; 41:2; Ho 13:3; Zp 2:2).

Chain. Chains as neck ornament were worn by both men and women, especially as a badge of rank or office (Gn 41:42; Dn 5:7). They were strung with precious stones, especially pearls (SS 1:10), metal spheres (Ex 35:22), and sometimes carried amulets* (Pr 1:9). Ornate neck chains were very popular in Egypt.

Chaldeans (Hb *kasdim*, Akkadian *kaldū*, meaning uncertain), a Semitic tribe connected with the Aramaeans. Their invasion of southern Babylonia from the 10th-8th centuries BC was contemporary with the Aramaean invasion of Syria. In Babylonia they established a number of states which resisted extinction and assimilation during the Assyrian conquests of the 8th-7th centuries, and under the dynasty of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar* destroyed the Assyrian empire (625-609 BC) and succeeded to its rule over Mesopotamia and Syria. The Chaldean empire in turn fell to Cyrus* of Persia* in 539 BC. Cf **ASSYRIA**; **BABYLONIA**. The advances of Babylonia in astronomical observation and astrology led to the use of the word Chaldean to designate astrologer in classical Gk and Lt writers; this usage is reflected in Dn 2:2 ff; 5:11. On Ur of the Chaldees cf **UR**.

Chariot. The chariot drawn by the horse* was introduced into Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Syria by the Hyksos* 1700-1500 BC. It immediately became popular as an instrument of war*. The possession of a chariot was limited to the king and the wealthy, and the chariot corps of the armies was formed by the aristocracy. The chariot was also used as a vehicle: Ashur-bani-pal of Assyria is represented in a chariot shaded by a parasol. Assyrian kings hunted from chariots (cf **HUNTING**). The railing of the carriage was rounded in both Egypt and Assyria, and the rear corners were rounded off in Egypt. The width of the axle was about 44-45 in. The rear edge of the carriage rested upon the axle. The wheels were, after an earlier four-spoke model in Egypt, built with six spokes in both Egypt and Assyria; after 800 BC the Assyrians used eight-spoke wheels. Both wheels and carriages in Egyptian chariots are represented as of lighter construction and were presumably more rapid. They were made of wood, and very little has survived. The chariot was usually drawn by two horses; one, three or four were exceptional, although it is not always possible to determine how many horses the artist intended to represent. In Egypt the chariot carried two men, the charioteer and the combat soldier, who is usually represented in both Egypt and Assyria as an archer. The crew rode standing. One man is sometimes represented with the reins tied around his waist. The Pharaoh always appears alone in the chariot, probably from artistic convention which would not show him receiving assistance; but the title "king's charioteer" designated a high ranking office in Egypt. The Hittites and after them the Assyrians had a complement of three men, adding a shield bearer. "King's



a) Assyrian war chariots with four men: a driver, an archer, and two shield bearers. b) Royal chariot of Ashur-bani-pal with canopy.

charioteer" and "king's *šālīs*," (lit "third man") designated high offices in Assyria. The chariots moved in ranks and units according to tactics; the single combat of Homer's heroes does not appear. The chariots of the Homeric period did not differ from those used in Egypt and Assyria. The Greeks shunned chariot warfare in the 6th–4th centuries, either because infantry tactics and the rise of cavalry had made them obsolete, or because, in the opinion of some scholars, the decline of the aristocracy removed the class which supported the chariot corps. They took up chariots in the 4th century, probably under Persian influence. The Persians also equipped the chariot wheels with scythes; these clumsy vehicles were more alarming in appearance than effective in battle. Chariots were used by the Seleucid* armies in the Maccabean* wars. The Romans used chariots for transportation and racing, but not in war.

The Hebrews adopted the chariot under Solomon; the word *šālīs* shows that they used a complement of three men (2 K 7:2, 17, 19; 10:25; 15:25). Its adoption aroused no small opposition from circles which regarded it as a form of luxury and vanity. Possibly it was resented because of its connection with a wealthy aristocracy. The "iron chariots" of the Canaanites inspired fear in the early Hebrews (Jos 17:16–18; Jgs 4:3 ff); but the Hebrews learned the tactics to defeat them, and Sisera* lost the battle of Tabor* because his chariots were mired

down by a heavy rain (Jgs 5:20 ff). Their success against the Canaanites may have contributed to the Hebrew reluctance to employ this weapon; at least once it is reported that they hamstringed the horses they captured (Jos 11:9). The Philistines*, however, used them against the Hebrews successfully (1 S 13:5). Nevertheless, David* hamstrung the horses which he captured from the Philistines, except 100 (2 S 8:4). The first item mentioned in Samuel's indictment of kingship is that the king will have chariots (1 S 8:11). It was a sign of vanity and royal ambition in both Absalom* (2 S 15:1) and Adonijah* (1 K 1:5) when they began to ride in a chariot. Nevertheless, Solomon had 1400 chariots stationed in chariot cities (1 K 10:26); one of these cities was Megiddo*, where stables for 450 horses have been discovered. Large chariot forces were maintained by the kings of Israel; Ahab's contingent of 2000 chariots was the largest among those listed in the records of Shalmaneser III at the battle of Karkar in 853 bc. Deuteronomy warns the king not to acquire many horses (17:16). In Judah in the time of Isaiah there were chariots without end (2:7). He rebukes confidence in chariots rather than in Yahweh (30:16; 31:1), a rebuke almost identical with the mockery of the Assyrian ambassador (36:8–9). It was not unworthy of Yahweh, however, to ride in a chariot (cf THEOPHANY). It was not common in Palestine in NT times and is not mentioned except in AA 8:28 ff,

where its owner is not a Jew but an Ethiopian.

Charisma. Cf GRACE; SPIRIT.

Charity. Cf LOVE.

Chebar. The "river" by which Ezekiel* had his visions (1:3; 3:15; 10:15; 43:3) was a canal, called "river" in Akkadian. A canal *naru kabari* which paralleled the Euphrates* from Babylon* to Erech* is mentioned in contract tablets from 443–424 BC.

Chedorlaomer (Hb *kēdōrlā'ōmer*), king of Elam*, one of the four kings who invaded Canaan in the time of Abraham* (Gn 14:1 ff). While the component *-lagamar* is the name of an Elamite deity, no Kudur-lagamar is mentioned among the 40 kings of Elam 2100–1100 BC whose names are known. W. F. Albright proposes that the Hb form be explained as arising from Elamite Kutur-Nahhunte (about 1625–1610 BC). This king sacked the temples and land of Akkad and carried off the statue of the goddess Nana to Elam. The expedition of Gn 14 represents Chedorlaomer as the chief of the allied kings and thus reflects the situation of the 2nd half of the 17th century BC when Amorite* power in Babylon was declining, and the name of the Elamite king may be preserved in incorrect transcription. The obscurities of the situation, in particular of the names of the other kings (cf separate articles), do not permit a precise identification.

Chemosh (Hb *kēmōš*, meaning unknown), god of the Moabites. Moab* is called the people of Chemosh (Nm 21:29; Je 48:46; cf also Je 48:7, 13). He was one of the gods worshiped by Solomon* (1 K 11:7, 33); his high place* was destroyed by Josiah* (2 K 23:13). In the speech of Jephthah* Chemosh has given Moab its land, as Yahweh has given its land to Israel (Jgs 11:24). In the Moabite stone of Mesha* Moab was defeated by Israel because Chemosh was angry with his land. Mesha attacked Israel at the behest of Chemosh, who expelled the king of Israel. In his honor Mesha slew the entire population of a city (cf BAN). He built the high place of Qarhoh in honor of Chemosh. Nothing is known of his character; Akkadian *kamūsh*, a title of Nergal, suggests a possible relationship. Ashtar-Chemosh, mentioned in the Moabite stone, is probably a female consort; but it may also be a title of Chemosh.

Cherethites and Pelethites (Hb *kērēti*, *pēlēti*), mentioned together seven times, Cherethites

alone three times. The identity of these two groups with the Philistines* or groups of the Philistines is clear — *pēlēti* is easily assumed to be a variant form of the name more commonly called *pēlisti* in Hb; *kērēti* is less easily identified with Crete*, Caphtor* in Hb. Caria has been suggested. The hero Keret of the Ugaritic* myth complicates the question. The Cherethites inhabited a part of the Negeb* adjacent to the Negeb of Judah* (1 S 30:14). In Ezk 25:16 and Zp 2:5 the context shows that they are regarded as identical with the Philistines. Elsewhere the two names occur together (2 S 8:18; 15:18; 20:7; 1 K 1:38, 44; 1 Ch 18:17); in all these passages they appear as the royal guard of David under the command of Benaiah*. They accompany David on his flight from Absalom, take part in the action against the revolt of Sheba*, and at the command of David are present at the installation of Solomon as king. It is evident that they are foreign soldiers, presumably professional, immediately attached to the person of the king, and their duty is as much to protect him against his own subjects as to fight his battles against external foes.

Cherith (Hb *kērīt*, meaning uncertain), a seasonal stream (Arabic *wadi*) E of the Jordan, where Elijah lived during the three years' drought and was fed by ravens (1 K 17:3, 5). Abel suggests the *Wadi Yabis*.

Cherub (Hb *kērūb*, pl *kērūbīm*, etymology uncertain). Cherubs, armed with a "flaming whirling sword," were stationed at the entrance to the garden of Eden* to keep man from returning there (Gn 3:24). Two cherubs of gold were built upon the ark* of the covenant, facing each other with their wings spread out over the mercy-seat; "between the cherubs" was the place where Yahweh spoke to Israel (Ex 25:10–22; 37:7–9; cf Nm 7:89). The cherubs of the temple of Solomon were 10 cubits (about 15 ft) in height with a wingspread of 10 cubits, so that the wings of the two cherubs spread from wall to wall of the Holy of Holies (1 K 6:23 ff); they were made of olive wood overlaid with gold. Cherubs were also carved in the paneling of the walls (1 K 6:29, 32, 35; 7:36). Yahweh is enthroned upon the cherubs (1 S 4:4; 2 S 6:2; 2 K 19:15; 1 Ch 13:6; Pss 80:2; 99:1; Is 37:16). This refers primarily to the cherubs of the ark, which was conceived as the throne upon which Yahweh stood invisibly; the latent symbolism is more explicit in Ps 18 and Ezk. In Ps 18 (2 S 22) there is described the theophany* of Yahweh in a storm; He rides upon the cherub and flies, and speeds on the wings of the wind. Here the cherub must be the

storm cloud; the same imagery is suggested by the appellation "Rider of the clouds," applied to Aleyan Baal* in Ugaritic* mythology and to Yahweh in Ps 68:5. The "living creatures" of the chariot of Ezk 1:4 ff are elsewhere in the book called cherubs (9:3; 10:1 ff). Here also Yahweh appears in a storm theophany and the cherubim as in Ps 18 are His living chariot. This may be compared to the common Canaanite representation of a deity standing upon the back of an animal. The cherubs of Ezk 1 are human in form with four faces—human, lion, ox, eagle—and four wings with human hands. This hybrid form suggests the winged sphinx of the ancient Near East with which the imagery of the cherub must be connected.

In Egypt and Canaan and in Hittite remains there are many representations of a demon* as a winged lion with a human countenance; in Mesopotamia there are winged bulls with a human countenance. The functions of these beings are parallel to those described above. The cherubs as a throne appear in Byblos and Megiddo, where the throne of the king is decorated with cherubs. In Assyria colossal winged bulls or lions with human features are found at the gates of temples and palaces; they are obviously guardian genii. A similar function is found in the cherubs which decorate sarcophagi. The sphinx of the pyramids of Gizeh in Egypt protects the tombs of the deceased Pharaohs. It is evident that the Renaissance artists who decorated their paintings with cherubs in the form of winged boys could scarcely have departed farther from the original form. The cherubs were the only images mentioned in orthodox Yahwism (cf IMAGE) and create some problems. While it is true that no cult was paid to them, the prohibition of images was taken very strictly in early Israel. In the tradition the image of the cherub was given the sanction of Moses himself; but ultimately we do not know why Israel selected this solitary plastic representation among the many external features of its cult which it had in common with ancient Near Eastern peoples.

Child. The first blessing uttered upon man in the first creation account was to be fruitful, to multiply, and to fill the earth (Gn 1:28). A numerous progeny was promised to the patriarchs* (Gn 12:2; 17:26; 26:24+), and a large family was a blessing from God (Pss 127:3–5; 128:2–4+). Childlessness was a curse and a great sorrow (Gn 30:1; 1 S 1:6, 11 ff; Is 4:1; Lk 1:25), although the wise man does not desire a multitude of unprofitable children (BS 16:

1–3). Sons were more desirable than daughters (cf FAMILY; WOMAN). The firstborn* son succeeded to the authority of the father*. The birth of a child, or at least of a son, was a joyous occasion, although we have no mention of any festivity as we have for circumcision (Lk 1:59 ff) or for weaning (Gn 21:8). The news was announced to the father, who presumably was not present (Jb 3:3; Je 20:15). The newborn infant was bathed, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in bands (Ezk 16:4; Lk 2:7). Circumcision was done on the 8th day after birth (Lv 12:3; Lk 1:59; 2:21), in ancient times by the father himself (Gn 17:23; 21:4). The newborn child was received upon the knees of the father, who thus acknowledged the child (Jb 3:12), perhaps by a formula such as that of Ps 2:7. When a slave substituted for the wife, the child was delivered upon the knees of the wife (Gn 30:3). The name was conferred either by the father (Gn 4:26; 5:3, 29; Ex 2:22+) or by the mother (Gn 4:1, 25; 29:23+), but neighbors (Rt 4:17) and relatives (Lk 1:59) could influence the choice of name. In the older accounts the name was given at birth; in the NT it is given at the time of circumcision (Lk 1:59 ff; 2:21). The mother nursed the child as a rule for a period of 2–3 years (Gn 21:7; 1 S 1:21–23); nurses were the exception (Gn 24:59; 35:8; 2 K 11:2). References to the play of children are rare (Mt 11:16; Lk 7:32) as compared to the scenes of play in Egyptian art. They helped their elders in domestic and field work (1 S 16:11; Je 7:18) and even girls herded and watered sheep (Gn 29:6; Ex 2:16). For girls the period of childhood was short, since they were marriageable at the age of puberty. Until marriage they were rather closely restrained, (2 Mc 3:19) and a real fear of sexual misadventure is expressed (BS 42:9–14); but these passages are both late, and maidens in early Israel had more liberty. The boy in Talmudic practice became a *bar mitzvah*, subject to the obligations of the law at the age of 13, and this is suggested also in Lk 2:42. The age of military service is reckoned at 20 in Nm 1:3. The education and rearing of the children was entirely in the hands of the parents; it was the duty of both father and mother to teach the children wisdom*. There was no formal instruction before the days of the synagogue*. In the earliest period the authority of the father was absolute; Abraham could sacrifice his son (Gn 22:1 ff), Jephthah* his daughter (Jgs 11:34 ff), and Judah could execute his daughter-in-law Tamar* for infidelity (Gn 38:24); but such absolute power does not appear under the monarchy. The obligation of children to honor their parents, which in-

cludes respect and obedience, is stated in the law (Ex 20:12; Lv 19:3; Dt 5:16) and is rewarded by a long life. Striking or cursing one's parents was a capital offense (Lv 20:9). Of Jesus it was written that He obeyed His parents (Lk 2:51) and Paul recommends obedience and honor to children (Eph 6:1-3). Jesus settled the dispute among His disciples about priority by placing a child before them and insisting that they must become like children (Mt 18:1 ff; 9:33 ff; Lk 9:46 ff), i.e., they must become, like the child, the least important of all. Yahweh will spare the city of Nineveh because of 120,000 infants in the city—perhaps meaning the adult inhabitants who are excused because of their ignorance (Jon 4:11). Yahweh has carried Israel as a man carries his son (Dt 1:31) and has taught Israel to walk (Ho 11:3).

Chileab (Hb *kil'āb*, etymology uncertain), David's second son, born of Abigail* at Hebron (2 S 3:3), apparently identical with Daniel of 1 Ch 3:1.

Chilion (Hb *kilyōn*, "frailty"?), son of Elimelech* and Naomi* and husband of Orpah* of Moab (Rt 1:2, 5; 4:9).

Chimham (Hb *kimhām*, meaning uncertain), son of Barzillai* of Gilead. Barzillai refused David's offer of residence at court in reward for his support of David during the rebellion of Absalom, but permitted his son to go instead (2 S 19:37 ff). There is a possible connection with the caravansary of Chimham near Bethlehem (Je 41:17), but the two names have a slightly different spelling in Hb.

Chinnereth, Chinneroth (Hb *kinneret*, *kin'-rôt*, etymology uncertain). Chinnereth was a fortified city at the NW corner of the Sea of Galilee* (Jos 19:35) which gives its name to the lake. The city is mentioned in Egyptian lists of the 18th dynasty. Chinneroth, if the difference in spelling is correct, seems to signify a region around the Sea of Galilee (1 K 15:20). The Sea of Galilee is called the Sea of Chinnereth in Nm 34:11; Jos 13:27, and the Sea of Chinneroth in Jos 12:3. The name is the origin of Gk Gennesar and Gennesareth*, used in 1 Mc and NT.

Chios (Gk *chios*), a large island of the Aegean archipelago off the coast of Asia Minor W of Smyrna, one of the seven cities which claimed the birthplace of Homer. It was passed by Paul on his last voyage to Jerusalem (AA 20:15).

Chisleu (Hb *kislew*), the 9th month of the Hb calendar*, November-December.

Chittim. Cf KITTIM.

Chloe (Gk *chloe*). The members of Chloe's household, probably her slaves, informed Paul of the factions at Corinth* (1 Co 1:11). It is not clear from this whether Chloe lived at Corinth, or whether she was a Christian.

Chorazin (Gk *chorazin*), one of the towns of Galilee cursed by Jesus for their unbelief (Mt 11:21; Lk 10:13). The site is identified with Khirbet Kerazeh, about 2 mi NW of Capernaum* (Tell Hum). It contains the ruins of a black basalt synagogue built in the 3rd or 4th century AD.

Christ. Cf JESUS CHRIST; MESSIAH.

Christian (Gk *christianos*, an adjective formed in the usual way to indicate those who follow a leader). The term was coined at Antioch* (AA 11:26) and is used in 1 Pt 4:16. It gained wide usage early; it was used by Herod Agrippa* in his dialogue with Paul (AA 26:28) and appears in the writings of Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius, and the letters of Ignatius of Antioch. In its origin it was probably a contemptuous nickname.

Chronicles, Books of. The Hb name is lit "books of the words (i.e., events) of the days." The title of Ch comes from Jerome who called them "Chronicon totius divinae historiae," "chronicle of the entire divine history." In the LXX the books were called *paraleipomenon*, Gk "things omitted" (i.e., in S and K); the title passed into Vg and RDC OT as Paralipomenon, but it is misleading. The division of Ch into two books appears first in the LXX. It is the last book of the Hb canon, most probably because it was the last to be accepted as sacred; in Vg and Eng Bibles it follows immediately after 1-2 K.

Ch + Ezr-Ne is the last of the three great collections of Hb historical traditions with the Pentateuch* and the Deuteronomistic history. It ends with the words with which Ezr begins; the inversion in Hb is due to its later acceptance. Like K, it ends not with the fall of Jerusalem but with a note of future hope: in 2 K the elevation of Jehoiachin, in Ch the decree of Cyrus permitting the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Its contents are: (1) Adam to David, 1 Ch 1-9, in the form of genealogies (2) David, 1 Ch 10-29. (3) Solomon, 2 Ch 1-9. (4) Judah from the division of the kingdom to the fall of Jerusalem, 2 Ch 11-36.

Ch and Ezr-Ne are the work of the same author, who is dated by most modern scholars not earlier than 300 BC. Recent research, however, places him nearer 400, and the identification of the Chronicler with Ezra himself, which was the Jewish tradition, has gained probability. The book was known to Ben Sira* (about 180 BC).

The Chronicler used sources. It is certain that he had either our books of S and K or, as some scholars believe, the text from which both he and the editor of our present S and K worked; but this source is never acknowledged explicitly, although extensive passages are transcribed from it word for word. He also had the books Gn-Jgs, at least in an earlier form. The following titles of sources appear: "book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (1 Ch 9:1; 2 Ch 27:7; 35:27; 36:8); "book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Ch 16:11; 25:26; 32:32); "book of the kings of Israel" (2 Ch 20:34); "words of the kings of Israel" (2 Ch 33:18); "midrash* of the book of the kings" (2 Ch 24:27); "words" or "prophecy" or "vision" or "midrash" of the prophets Samuel*, Nathan*, and Gad* for the history of David; (1 Ch 29:29) of Nathan, Ahijah* and Jeddi for the history of Solomon (2 Ch 9:29); Shemaiah* and Iddo* for Rehoboam (2 Ch 12:15); Iddo for Abijah (2 Ch 13:22); Jehu* for Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20:34); Isaiah* for Uzziah (2 Ch 26:22) and for Hezekiah (2 Ch 32:32); Hozai for Manasseh (2 Ch 33:19). Modern scholars reduce all these either to two works, one a history of the kings and the other a collection of writings by or concerning the prophets, or to one; the existence of both documents is also suggested by the compilation of K (cf KINGS, BOOKS OF). The royal document cannot be our book of K, since it is cited for events not mentioned in K.

The question of the historical value of the material peculiar to Ch has been considerably discussed (cf his conception of history below) and modern criticism is less inclined to reject it out of hand, preferring to evaluate each item in itself. The genealogies, compiled in the early sections from Gn-Jgs, show little evidence of artificial construction, although some of this may be present. The genealogy was an important document in ancient Israel. The genealogies of David and of Levi and Aaron contain many names not attested elsewhere; in some instances we can trace a corruption. The genealogies are arranged according to tribes and clans; this aspect of Hb social organization is less often mentioned in the historical books, but was the principal framework within which the Hebrews lived even after the establishment of the monarchy. It is

rarely possible to date the genealogies of Ch precisely. Eissfeldt notes the following instances in which Ch has preserved certain historical information not found in S and K: David's heroes (1 Ch 11:10-47), the buildings and fortifications of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11:5-12) and his family (2 Ch 11:18-23), Uzziah's defeat of the Philistines (2 Ch 26:6) and his buildings (2 Ch 26:9-10). Other instances could be added in which a genuine tradition has been retold in the Chronicler's characteristic manner.

It is important to grasp that the Chronicler did not intend to write "history." The books of S and K existed, and he did not intend to suppress or replace them. Yet there are obvious differences both in general conception and in numerous details between the Chronicler's presentation and the course of events as his readers could find them in S and K. It may be summed up by saying that the Chronicler intended to write not what happened, but what ought to have happened; it is the story of the ideal Israel living under its law in the historical circumstances which led to its fall. Hence he omits the feud of David and Saul, the adultery of David and Bathsheba, the rebellion of Absalom, and the entire history of the northern kingdom after the division. This ideal is specified by three theological principles which he represents as governing events: a somewhat rigid scheme of retribution, direct divine intrusion into history, and the primacy of the temple and the cult. The first principle is illustrated in such episodes as the misfortunes or good fortunes of Rehoboam (2 Ch 12:1 ff), Asa (2 Ch 16:7-12), Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20:35-37), Uzziah (2 Ch 26:16-23), which are explained as retribution for good or bad deeds not mentioned in K and sometimes certainly unhistorical. In particular the long life of Manasseh is explained as due to a conversion which is entirely unattested (2 Ch 33:10 ff) after his imprisonment in Assyria; but his journey to Assyria, perhaps to give account of a rumor of rebellion, is most probable. The second principle appears in the victories of Abijah (2 Ch 13:13 ff), of Asa (2 Ch 14:8 ff), and of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20:1 ff), which are accomplished entirely by prayer with no combat. The fantastic numbers of the armies in Ch are characteristic and cannot be explained as incorrect transmissions; they attest the power of God over the mightiest human forces. The third principle appears in the space and importance which the Chronicler gives to the temple and its cult and personnel, which will preserve the union of Yahweh and Israel. Here David appears as the founder of temple music; his dispositions in this regard are second only to

those of Moses. While the Chronicler has probably read the institutions of his own time into the time of David, and idealized their description besides, there is a well attested tradition that David was himself a musician and the author of musical compositions (cf PSALMS). His role in the establishment of this part of the cult should not be questioned. The interest and the knowledge of the Chronicler concerning the Levites, particularly the choirs, suggest that he himself was a member of this class. David, in many respects idealized into a messianic figure, appears as a second Moses.

This presentation of the past is unsympathetic to modern readers. It is necessary to see the Chronicler's purpose: to present an ideal of a holy people living in community under a messianic ruler, governed by divine law and faithful in the observances of public worship. His affirmation of the primacy of the religious in human life, of the divine government of human affairs, and of the law of retribution, while put for his contemporaries in a form which we find somewhat strained, is in full harmony with the beliefs of the OT.

Chronology. The reckoning of fixed dates in an era determined by a fixed point of departure does not appear until late in OT times. Earlier dates must be determined by calculations from a mass of complicated and not always consistent data which is surveyed below.

1. *Egyptian.* Up to the 12th Dynasty years were identified by some event; thereafter by the king's regnal year. There are several ancient lists of kings and their regnal years (the Palermo Stone, the lists of Abydos and Saqqarah, the Turin papyrus, and fragments of the lists of Manetho). Manetho (3rd century BC) arranged the kings in 31 dynasties which are grouped under Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom; these designations are still commonly employed.

2. *Babylonian.* From earliest times to the Kassite dynasty (17th century BC) the years were designated by some event. Lists of the kings and of the years of their reign so designated are preserved from the first dynasty of Akkad* down to the Kassite period. Neither the earlier lists nor the later regnal lists have been preserved entirely; since new material is constantly turning up, modern scholarship is engaged in putting the fragmentary lists together into a consecutive scheme. This is based primarily upon synchronisms with Assyrian history and upon backward calculations thence. Of particular importance are the "Babylonian Chronicle" for the last years of Assyria and of the kingdom of Judah and the "Synchronistic

History" (of Assyrian origin) for the relations of the Babylonian and Assyrian king lists.

3. *Assyrian.* The Assyrians as early as the 18th century BC named each year after a royal official (*limmu*). Up to Tiglath-pileser* III (745-727 BC) the first year of each king's reign was named after the king himself. These *limmu*-lists are preserved entirely for the period 911-648 BC. An eclipse in the year 763 BC enables us to formulate dates for the entire lists. For earlier periods there are two important king lists with their regnal years, one in Constantinople and the other at the Oriental Institute in Chicago. For the period of the *limmu* lists correlation with Assyrian chronology furnishes the only certain dating for the period.

4. *Biblical.* Since 1701 to recent times biblical chronology was governed by the chronology of Ussher, Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, published 1650-1654 and introduced into the margin of AV in 1701. This was based entirely upon Ussher's calculation of the biblical data, which is not entirely uniform. The creation of the world was placed in 4004 BC.

I. *Creation to Deluge:* Hb 1656 years, LXX 2242 years, Samaritan Pentateuch 1307 years. The LXX and Sam variations are both due to deliberate editorial revision. The number is reached by adding the totals of Gn 5 (cf PATRIARCH).

II. *Deluge to Abraham:* the totals of Gn 11:10-26 give 290 years from the Deluge to the birth of Terah, Abraham's father; his age at the birth of Abraham is not given. Terah's birth thus falls in 2058 BC, and Abraham's birth was put by Ussher in 1996 BC; this is too early (cf ABRAHAM).

III. *Abraham to Exodus:* from Abraham's birth to Jacob's descent into Egypt is 290 years (from Gn 21:5; 25:26; 47:9). The sojourn in Egypt is placed at 430 years in Ex 12:40, an artificial calculation reached by doubling the 215 years from Abraham's entrance into Canaan to Jacob's departure. This would place the exodus in 1276 BC (cf EXODUS). During this period there is no certain fixed point of correlation with either Egyptian or Mesopotamian chronology.

IV. *Exodus to the foundation of the temple of Solomon:* In 1 K 6:1 the foundation date of the temple is said to be 480 years after the exodus. This, no doubt, reckons 12 generations of 40 years each and may repose upon genealogical lists not preserved in the OT. The total reached by adding the 40 years in the desert, the periods assigned to each of the judges, 40 years of David and 3 years of Solomon, and without reckoning the years of Joshua, Samuel, and Saul, which are not given (Saul is given 40 years

in AA 13:21) is 533 years. If 40 years each are added for Joshua, Samuel, and Saul, the total would reach 653 years. But since the temple was founded about 959 BC, this would place the exodus in 1612 BC or 1439 BC, both of which are too early. Many of the judges were contemporaneous, but they are not so represented in the book of Jgs. Actually the date of the end of the reign of Solomon* can be reached very nearly exactly (cf SHISHAK).

V. *The monarchies of Israel and Judah to the fall of Jerusalem*: for this period the OT gives for each king of Israel and Judah after Rehoboam* the year of his accession in terms of the reigning king of the other kingdom and the length of his reign. This apparently simple scheme is complicated by several factors. The first is the accession year. In Egypt the accession year of a new king was antedated, i.e., the last year of his predecessor was the first year of the new king and was counted in the total regnal years of the new king. In Mesopotamia the accession was postdated i.e., the year of the death of the predecessor was the "accession year" of the new king, and his first year began with the following calendar new year, from which point his regnal years were counted. It is certain that both systems were used in both Hb kingdoms, and postdating is very probable in Judah after Hezekiah. In 1-2 K the total regnal years for Judah from the division of the kingdom to the fall of Samaria are 258, for Israel 241; this suggests different computations of the accession year. Another complicating factor is the problem of the beginning of the calendar new year (cf CALENDAR) in Nisan or Tishri. Still another factor is the existence of co-regencies which may have been counted in the regnal totals of two kings; another is the possibility of interregna. Finally there are some textual errors, in particular a strange error consistently uncorrected for the kings of the 8th century in Judah. Against these factors are the fairly abundant data and several fixed points which can be set by correlation with Assyrian and Babylonian chronology:

- 853: Ahab* at the battle of Karkar (Shalmaneser III of Assyria)
- 842: Jehu* paid tribute to Shalmaneser III
- 738: Menahem* paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III
- 721: Sargon* took Samaria in his accession year
- 609: 17th year of Nabopolassar of Babylon. Egypt marched to the Euphrates to aid Ashur-uballit of Assyria, the death of Josiah* (2 K 23:28 ff)
- 597: 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar*, surrender of Jerusalem and deportation of Jehoiachin* (2 K 24:10 ff)

- 587: 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, destruction of Jerusalem (2 K 25:1 ff).

VI. *The fall of Jerusalem to the birth of Christ*: Ezr-Ne date events according to the regnal years of the Persian kings. Since several different Persian kings bore identical names, this sometimes leaves doubt e.g., concerning the dating of Ezra* himself under Artaxerxes* I or II. The dates of Ezk begin from an uncertain point of departure. The events in 1-2 Mc are dated by the Seleucid era, which began with the victory of Seleucus* over Demetrius at Gaza in October, 312 BC, from which the founding of the Seleucid kingdom was reckoned in Antioch. In Mesopotamia it was reckoned from Nisan 311 BC. This era was widely used in the Near East until the Mohammedan conquests of the 7th century AD. The Gk reckoning of Olympiads (four-year periods beginning with 776 BC) and the Roman era reckoned from the foundation of the city (754 BC) do not appear in the Bible.

VII. *New Testament*: chronological data in the NT are sparse. The birth of Jesus occurred at an uncertain date; 753 of the Roman era is in error by four to seven years (cf JESUS CHRIST). The 15th year of Tiberius* Caesar (Lk 3:1) may be reckoned either from his succession to Augustus (AD 14) or from his association with Augustus in the *imperium* (AD 12).

It is from this point that NT chronology must be calculated.

The chronological table (cf ENDSHEETS) contains synchronistic dates for Israel, Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt, Persia, the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties, and Rome. It is based upon the chronologies of Scharff, Moortgat, Albright, Valjavec, and Freedman-Campbell. There is a large measure of approximation for the early dates, which decreases as one comes down. Assyrian and Babylonian dates from the 10th century are exact for practical purposes, as are Gk and Roman dates. The dates of the Hb kings are exact within 5 to 10 years.

Church. The Anglo-Saxon group of words (Eng *church*, Scots *kirk*, German *Kirche*, Dutch *kerk*) are derived from the late Gk word *kyriakon*, "the Lord's (house)." The Gk word *ekklēsia* signified in classical Gk the assembly of the citizens of a city for legislative or deliberative purposes. This assembly included only the citizens who enjoyed full rights, and thus the word implies both the dignity of the members and the legality of the assembly. The Gk word *ekklēsia* had no religious usage. It was adopted by the LXX to render the Hb word *kāhāl*, which with the Hb word *ʿedāh* signi-

fies in later Hb the religious assembly of the Israelites. These two words were adopted for the local religious assembly of the Jews who lived outside Jerusalem, and *'ēdāh* is more commonly rendered in Gk by *synagōgē*, the word from which Eng synagogue is derived. The earliest uses of the word in the NT reflect the idea both of *k'hal yahweh*, the religious assembly of God, and the local assembly. The word is first applied to the *ekklēsia* of Jerusalem, which was itself a local community. It was at the same time the assembly of all those who believed in Jesus Christ, and thus was the legitimate successor of the Israelite assembly of Yahweh. In its initial phases the Church of Jerusalem was not clearly aware of its distinction from Judaism. Its members were accustomed to meet and to pray in the temple and regarded themselves as in every way faithful to the Law and obligations of Judaism. The question of the relations between the Church and Judaism did not become acute until Gentiles were admitted in considerable numbers and finally formed separate local churches in other cities, of which the earliest and the largest was the church of Antioch*. It then became necessary for the Church to identify itself as a community distinct from Judaism, into which Gentiles could be admitted to full standing without becoming Jews and undertaking the full obligations of the Jewish law. This question is discussed in AA 15, Gal, and Rm; cf also Eph 2:11–22. On the council of Jerusalem (AA 15) cf ACTS OF APOSTLES.

1. *The Synoptic Gospels.* The word *ekklēsia* appears only twice in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 16:18; 18:18). The teaching of Jesus Himself was stated in the framework of the kingdom* of God; but the foundations of the idea of *ekklēsia* are clear in the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus formed a group of disciples and followers. Of these disciples He demanded personal attachment to Himself, even at the cost of separation from friends and family; indeed, this following might cause a separation between them and the world at large which could issue in their death (Mt 4:18 ff; 10:34 ff; Mk 1:16 ff; 8:34 ff; Lk 5:1 ff; 12:51 ff). This group of followers received from Him the mission to gain other followers who would grant Him the same personal allegiance (Mt 28:19; Mk 16:15 ff). Against this background the use of the word *ekklēsia* in Mt 16:18 is clearly identified with this group which Jesus Himself formed and which He commanded to be continued by His disciples after His departure. In Mt 16:18 the Church is compared to a building which is erected upon the apostle Simon Peter as a rock of foundation. This passage not only indicates

the peculiar position of Peter in the assembly of Jesus' disciples, but also the unity and the permanence of the group which Jesus Himself established. In this passage Jesus assures His disciples that this single group, which is founded upon Simon Peter, will endure the attacks even of Satan. It is possible that this passage, like others in Mt, is stated in the form which had been imposed upon it in the development of Christian oral tradition. The unique instance of the word *ekklēsia* in this sense in the Synoptic Gospels suggests this view. But this does not alter the fact that the idea of such a group is found clearly in these three Gospels. The peculiar position of Peter is not unique in this passage. The other instance of *ekklēsia* (Mt 18:17) does not so clearly signify the group of Jesus's disciples. In this context, where the disciples are urged to report the recalcitrant member to the assembly, the Jewish synagogue may be signified. The difference between the group of Jesus' disciples and Judaism is not as clear at this stage of the tradition as it later became. Members are to seek redress for personal injuries from the synagogue rather than by their own acts of revenge.

2. *Acts.* The word *ekklēsia* occurs in AA 23 times. In no passage does it certainly mean anything except the local church, usually the church of Jerusalem, but also the local church of Antioch and other cities. The church of Jerusalem was the parent and the prototype of other churches, and possibly the first foundations were considered as expansions of the Jerusalem community. This idea did not long persist, if it was ever present at all; for each local church was called *ekklēsia* in the same sense in which the title was given to the community of Jerusalem, which in AA does possess the primacy of the parent church (cf AA 15:1 ff). The church of Jerusalem sends men to investigate conditions in other churches (AA 15:3) and itself in assembly decides questions which are referred to it by other churches (AA 15:22). The other churches, however, are organized with their own bishops*, presbyters*, and deacons*, and they are founded by apostles*. This early hierarchy appears in AA in the Jerusalem church itself. In AA it is clear that membership in the Church involves acceptance of the claims of Jesus and belief in the saving power of His redeeming death. Membership is gained not by Jewish birth, but by the rite of baptism*. This becomes clear when the proposal is first made to admit Gentiles who had not become proselytes* of Judaism (AA 10:1 ff). The further question of whether Gentiles admitted on these terms should then be obliged to the full observance

of the Jewish law was resolved by a lenient interpretation of Jewish obligations (AA 15:28 ff.).

3. *Paul.* The word *ekklesia* occurs 65 times in the writings of Paul, more frequently than in the rest of the NT altogether. This more likely represents a common usage which had developed when Paul wrote than any peculiar Pauline diction. In most of these instances the word signifies a local church. Paul is the first NT writer to employ the word in the plural, which signifies the equality of the separate local churches. In Eph and Col the word is used of the entire worldwide assembly of the followers of Jesus, which is here conceived as one great assembly. In these epistles the theology of the Church is worked out for the first time. Christ is the head of the Church which is His body and His fullness, a fullness which is dispensed from Him through the Church to all its members (Eph 1:22-23). As the one through whom all creation comes into being He is the head of His body the Church, a principle through which the fullness of the Church comes into being (Col 1:18 ff.). It is through the Church that the mystery of God's saving will and the manifold divine wisdom are revealed (Eph 3:10). Christ is head of the Church as the husband is head of the wife, and Christ likewise is the savior of the Church. The Church is submitted to Christ as wives are submitted to their husbands, and Christ loves the Church as the husband loves his wife; He has given His own life on behalf of the Church. Through this He has hallowed the Church, cleansing it in the washing of His blood and the word of baptism, and thus He has established the Church for Himself in its glory, without spot or wrinkle. This love, Paul goes on to say, is a model of the love which husbands ought to exhibit toward their wives, and of the care which they ought to take of them; and this relationship of Christ and the Church is called a great mystery (Eph 5:22-32). This beautiful image is already suggested in the Gospels, where Jesus calls Himself the bridegroom (Mt 9:15; Mk 2:19; Lk 5:34), and in turn it is a resumption of the older image of Yahweh as the spouse of Israel (Ho 2:2 ff., 14-23; Je 2:2; cf COVENANT; MARRIAGE). The figure of the Church as the body of Christ is the basis of Paul's appeal for Christian unity and cooperation (1 Co 12:12 ff.; Rm 12:4 ff.). The unity of one body is symbolized by the one bread of the Eucharist* (1 Co 10:17). In the Church God has established certain offices in a set order — apostles, prophets, teachers, thaumaturges — and to assist the Church He confers charismata of healing, helpfulness, govern-

ment, of tongues. Each Christian should fulfill the function assigned him without attempting to enter into the office of others (1 Co 12:28 ff.). The Church is also compared by Paul to a city (Eph 2:19) and to a building erected upon the foundation of apostles and prophets with Christ Jesus Himself the cornerstone upon which the entire building reposes. This building is the holy temple of the Lord, and the members of the Church are incorporated into its structure (Eph 2:20 ff.). This suggests the figure of Mt 16:18. The Church of the living God is the house of God, the column and foundation of the edifice of truth (1 Tm 3:15). To the members of the Church Paul gives the titles of saints, those who love God, those who are called (Rm 8:27-28), the Church of God, those who are hallowed in Christ Jesus, those who are called to be holy (1 Co 1:2), the chosen holy ones of God (Col 3:12; cf 2 Tm 2:10; Tt 1:1). These titles, which are drawn from the OT, indicate that the Church is the true Israel and the legitimate heir of the covenant promises. It has now become clear that Israel itself has decided to refuse its Messiah* and with Him it has rejected the covenant which gave it its right to the titles now claimed by the Christians (Rm 9-11).

4. *John.* The word *ekklesia* appears in the Joannine writings in 3 Jn 6, 9, 10, and 20 times in Apc, referring to particular churches. The group of the followers of Jesus is described in Jn as a flock which is gathered into a sheepfold (Jn 10:1 ff.). Jesus Himself is the door of the sheepfold and the good shepherd who gives His life for His sheep. There are sheep which do not belong to His fold and He must lead them in so that they too will obey His voice and all men will become one flock under one shepherd. Jesus is the true vine which His Father cultivates. His disciples are the branches and by their union with Him they become fruitful. Unless they remain united to Him they shall be rejected (Jn 15:1 ff.). Jesus commits His flock to Peter* as its shepherd (Jn 21:15 ff.). He prays that His followers may be one as He and His father are one, and that His followers may be united with Him and His Father (Jn 17:20 f.).

In the other NT writings the word occurs once in Js (5:14), where it most probably signifies a particular church. In these writings also there appears a clearly defined body of followers of Jesus, called once (Js 2:2) a synagogue.

From these passages it is evident that the local churches are united in a single organization, which is called the Church in the epistles of Paul. The reality is present in the other writings, even though the word is not

used. This Church enjoys a union with its founder which in modern theology is called mystical (cf BODY); it derives its life and its virtue from His enduring presence within it. It is the means by which the life of Christ is communicated. It has the mission to bring into itself all men. It admits new members by baptism, and the fullness of the divine life which it possesses is communicated by the other sacraments*. It is an organized body with officials of distinct rank (cf APOSTLE; BISHOP; DEACON; ELDER; PRESBYTER). This assembly is the heir of the covenant and promises of Israel, which reach their fulfillment in Jesus and His Church.

Chuzza (Gk *chouzas*, from Aramaic *kūzā'*, etymology uncertain), the name appears in Nabatean and Syriac inscriptions; the steward of Herod* (Lk 8:3), whose wife Joanna* was one of the women who ministered to the needs of Jesus. Some writers identify him with the royal official whose son was cured of illness by Jesus at Capharnaum* (Jn 4:43 ff).

Cilicia (Gk *kilikia*), the coastal strip of the SE corner of Asia Minor, bounded by the Taurus Mountains to the N and Mt Amanus to the E. In OT times the region belonged to the kingdom of the Hittites. It was a part of the Seleucid* kingdom of Syria (1 Mc 11:14; 2 Mc 4:36) and under Roman rule was a part of the province of Syria until it became a distinct province in AD 57. The land route from Syria to the interior of Asia Minor traversed the rugged pass of the Taurus Mountains called the Cilician Gates. The principal city of Cilicia was Tarsus*, the birthplace of Paul. The area had Jewish inhabitants in NT times (AA 6:9) and Christian communities as early as the council of Jerusalem (AA 15:23).

Cinnamon (Hb *kināmôn*, Gk *kinnamōmon*), the well known spice. It is the product of the tree *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, native to Ceylon and other East Indian islands. The product is obtained from the inner bark of the tree and the oil of cinnamon is secured by boiling the ripe fruit. It is mentioned in the OT as one of the components of the oil of anointing* (Ex 30:23) and is enumerated with other perfumes in SS 4:14, and is used to perfume a bed in Pr 7:17. It is mentioned among the merchandise of Babylon (i.e., Rome, Apc 18:13).

Circumcision. 1. OT. The practice of cutting off the foreskin of the male organ is ancient and fairly widespread among primitive peoples even to the present time; it is estimated that 200,000,000 employ it. In the

ancient Near East the practice is certainly attested for the Egyptians, but few details are known. Herodotus asserted in the 5th century BC that the practice was general, but this is not supported by evidence from Egypt itself. There is little or no doubt that it was practiced upon all priests, but it is not certain that others besides the priestly class were circumcised. A tomb painting from the 6th dynasty represents the circumcision of two boys (ANEP 629). The meaning of the practice is not altogether clear either among the Egyptians or among primitive peoples. Hygienic motives, asserted by Herodotus for the Egyptians, are not supported by the evidence. It is much more probable that it was an initiatory rite with religious or magical significance. It seems almost universally to have been conferred at the age of puberty and to be a "rite of passage" from boyhood to manhood or a preparation for marriage; possibly it was thought that circumcision facilitated sexual intercourse. This, however, does not explain its restriction to the priestly class in Egypt. The Hebrews alone practiced circumcision on the 8th day after birth. The operation in earliest times was performed by the father. The use of a flint knife indicates the antiquity of the rite. The law of circumcision appears in Gn 17:10 ff. Here it is a part of the covenant of God with Abraham. All born in the household of Abraham, whether free or slave, are to be circumcised 8 days after birth. The adult males were to be circumcised immediately. The circumcision of Isaac is mentioned in Gn 21:4. The obligation is serious, and failure to fulfill it means separation from the covenant (Gn 17:14). This anecdote contains Israelite law in the form of a story, and some scholars think that a practice of later origin has been read back into patriarchal times. The law of circumcision is stated in Ex 12:3. Circumcision is a necessary qualification for partaking in the Passover* sacrifice (Ex 12:44-48). An obscure fragment of popular tradition tells how Moses was in some way threatened with death, from which he was rescued when his wife Zipporah* circumcised their son (Ex 4:24-26). The story explains the origin of the phrase "bridegroom of blood," which is not found elsewhere. Some scholars believe that Moses' son has been substituted in the story for Moses himself, and that the original story related that Moses' seizure was due to the fact that he himself was not circumcised, and that Zipporah saved his life by performing the operation upon him at the time of the consummation of their wedding. In the story of Dinah* and Shechem* (Gn 34:1 ff) the sons of Israel impose circumcision of all males as a condition of their accepting the

covenant of common life and intermarriage with the people of Shechem. The sons of Israel thus trapped the men of Shechem and murdered them during the illness which followed the operation. A popular tradition related that the men of Israel were not circumcised in the desert before their entrance into Canaan, and that the operation was performed upon all Israelite males at Gibeath-araloth after the crossing of the Jordan (Jos 5:2 ff). Thus the "reproach of Egypt" was removed from Israel. The phrase "reproach of Egypt" seems to show that the account was ignorant of the practice of circumcision in Egypt. The roots of the story are difficult to trace. It is, of course, practically impossible to suppose that the entire fighting force of Israel could have submitted to this operation at the time of their entrance into hostile territory; but the tradition must preserve some account of the failure of Israel to practice circumcision for an extended time. It is unlikely that the story is actually an account of the first adoption of the practice in Israel. Neither the origin of circumcision in Israel nor its meaning is entirely clear. Jeremiah mentions as circumcised peoples of Egypt, Edom, Ammon, and Moab, and certain nomad tribes of the desert (Je 9:25 f). The name "uncircumcised" is a title of contempt applied to other peoples, especially to the Philistines* (Jgs 14:3; 15:18; 1 S 14:6; 31:4; 2 S 1:20). In Ezekiel's dirge over Egypt (32:19 ff) the curse of lying in the grave with the uncircumcised is repeated 10 times. This, however, does not signify that the Philistines alone of the neighbors of the Hebrews were uncircumcised. There is little if any evidence that it was practiced by the Canaanites. An ivory carving from Megiddo* (ANEP 332) represents two circumcised male prisoners, of uncertain origin but certainly Semitic in features, being led before an unidentified king. The practice is not mentioned in Mesopotamian literature, nor is there any trace of it in archaeological remains. Hence the hypothesis that the Hebrews adopted the rite from some desert tribes is not altogether without probability. The rite when performed 8 days after birth no longer has the meaning of initiation into adult manhood or matrimony. It is a sign of the covenant of Israel and Yahweh. The precise form of the symbolism, however, cannot be traced, and it is possible that the Hebrews first adopted the rite as an initiation. The metaphorical use of the words "circumcision" and "fore-skin" as stated below indicates that the foreskin was regarded as a point where uncleanness was focused, and that this uncleanness was removed by circumcision (cf CLEAN). This, however, is doubtfully the

original significance of the rite. As a consecration of the power of generation to the deity the rite would have significance; but the symbolism is of itself less well adapted to this meaning. One may detect from such passages as Abraham's oath (Gn 24:2) that the male organ was regarded as sacred and perhaps in some sense as a symbol of the deity, the ultimate source of life. In any case circumcision appears throughout the entire OT and NT as a token of membership in Israel and of association with the covenant.

To be circumcised of heart is to be submissive to Yahweh (Lv 26:41; Dt 10:16; Je 4:4). To be uncircumcised of ears is to be disobedient to Yahweh (Je 6:10). Foreigners uncircumcised of heart and flesh should not have been admitted to the Israelite sanctuary (Ez 44:7). Israel, though circumcised of flesh, is uncircumcised of heart (Je 9:25 f). Moses is uncircumcised of lips (Ex 6:12, 30) by which is signified his inability to speak. In the opinion of some scholars this indicated a real speech impediment, but in any case it was a denial of eloquence. New fruit trees are uncircumcised (Lv 19:23) for three years, i.e., they have not yet been consecrated to Yahweh by the offering of the firstfruits*. The rite of circumcision was prohibited by Antiochus Epiphanes under the penalty of death (1 Mc 1:15).

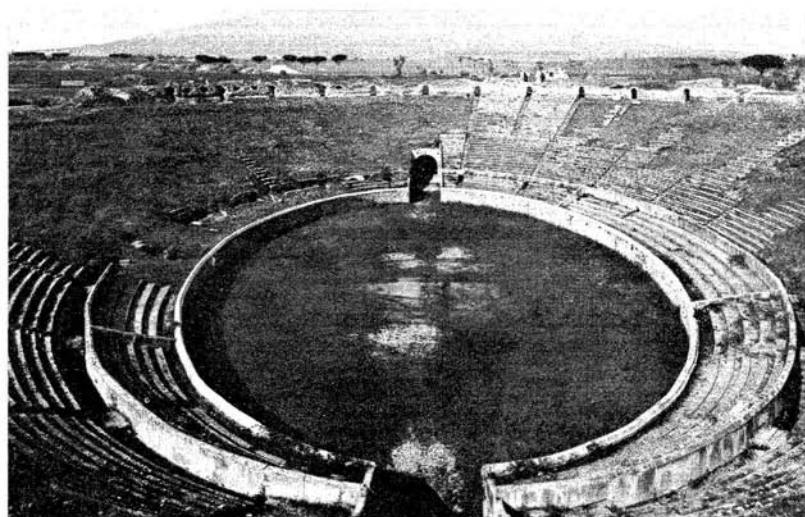
2. NT. Jesus Himself was circumcised on the 8th day after His birth (Lk 2:21). Paul mentions his own circumcision to show that he is fully an Israelite (Phl 3:5), and Paul had Timothy* circumcised after he had reached adult years because he was the son of a Jewish mother (AA 16:3), although Titus*, whose parents were Gentiles, did not have to undergo circumcision (Gal 2:3). The Jewish members of the primitive Christian community are several times in the NT called simply "the circumcision" or "those of the circumcision" (AA 10:45; 11:2). The necessity of circumcision was proposed by Jewish Christians (AA 15:1 ff) and as a consequence a serious dispute arose. The council of Jerusalem finally decided against the necessity of circumcision for Gentile converts (AA 15:28 f). The Jewish party evidently was not entirely satisfied with this decision, for it is further discussed by Paul in both Gal and Rm, and it becomes an occasion for Paul to proclaim the efficacy of Christ's redeeming death and the freedom of the Christian from the observances of the Jewish Law. Paul insists that circumcision destroys the efficacy of the redemption; to be circumcised makes one liable to the observance of the entire Law. In Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor its absence has any

meaning (Gal 5:6). He takes up again a figure of Jeremiah to show that mere physical circumcision is without value; the true Israelite is inwardly circumcised of heart (Rm 2:25 ff). Both circumcised and uncircumcised are accepted by God because of their faith (Rm 3:30). Abraham himself was justified by his faith, not by his circumcision (Rm 4:1-12), and the descendants of Abraham are those who share his faith, not those who share only the physical sign of his circumcision (Rm 4:13 ff). Since circumcision is of no importance in the Christian dispensation, Paul prefers that those who are called, whether Jew or Gentile, remain in the state in which they are called (1 Co 7:18 ff). Christ has become a "minister of circumcision" (Rm 15:8) i.e., He has carried out the promises made to the fathers by bringing righteousness and salvation, which are promised by the covenant of circumcision. Circumcision is the work of human hands (Eph 2:11), but the initiation of Christians into Christ is effected by Christ Himself through baptism (Col 2:11 f).

Cistern. Artificial reservoirs to collect and retain rain water were extremely common in the cities of ancient Palestine. The springs which supplied fresh water were as a rule no more than adequate for the needs of the population, and in almost every city had to be supplemented by cisterns, some of which were public, others were attached to private residences. By preference a cistern was excavated in the natural rock; they were also made by digging holes in the ground and walling them with masonry. Large cisterns were sometimes reached by a flight of steps. Jeremiah compares foreign gods to broken cisterns, as contrasted with Yahweh, the spring of fresh water (Je 2:13).

City. The whole complex which we understand by civilization is the product of the city. The earliest city known is Jericho* (6800 bc). Urban centers appear in Mesopotamia in 3500 bc. Up to this time the men of Mesopotamia lived in primitive agricultural villages. Some impulse led the Sumerians* to group themselves in more closely built fortified communities. The change from agricultural and pastoral life to city life brought about specialization of labor, which permitted some men to support themselves by the crafts and released them from the necessity of procuring their own food. The city was a market, in which goods could be exchanged, not only among the citizens themselves, but also between one city and another. Manufacturing was possible, and man's use of natural resources was

much increased by specialization and exchange. The city also brought a closer political unity; the human resources of the community could be mobilized for a common purpose. Both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, where cities appear not much later than in Mesopotamia, community effort was no doubt demanded for the common work of irrigation. In both these alluvial valleys cultivation of the soil to the best results is not possible unless each of the cultivators does his share to maintain the dikes and canals which channel the water to the fields and help control destructive floods. The military potential of the city also was more easily mobilized, and the government of the city, which was concentrated in the person of the king*, could muster men for tasks which no individual or family could or would undertake, such as the construction of temples, walls and fortifications, palaces, roads, docks, and other such works. It is clear that from earliest times the Mesopotamian city was centered about the temple, and that each city worshiped its own god. The temples were of great importance in the development of literature and the arts, both of which were employed for religious purposes from the earliest times. Mesopotamia differed from Egypt in its political structure. In Mesopotamia each city was a state, and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia never succeeded in erecting a stable political structure which would extend over a wider area than the city and the lands in the immediate neighborhood which it cultivated. Larger units took the form of empire of one city-state over others. In Egypt, on the other hand, the kingdom appears as unified from earliest historical times. This may in part be explained by the dependence of Egypt upon the Nile*, which must be treated as a single unit in order that its possibilities may be realized to the full. Canaan before the Israelites was, like Mesopotamia, a country of city-states. A list of the cities of Canaan conquered by Thutmose III contains 118 local names, most of which no doubt represent independent cities. The Papyrus Anastasi I from the times of Ramses II mentions 56 fortified cities in Syria. Many of these can be identified with biblical names. The politics of the city-states of Canaan before the Israelite conquest are described in the Amarna* Letters. In this period the city-states were ruled by kings who were vassals of the Pharaoh; the Egyptian sovereignty during the Amarna period was not very effective. But each city-state is a sovereign independent unit. When the Israelites conquered the country the city-states of Canaan were the last places to fall to them. In some instances it is clear that the cities remained



a) and b) Pompeii,
Remains of streets,
houses, and shops.
c) Pompeii. Remains
of amphitheater.

Canaanite while the surrounding countryside was Israelite. When the Hebrews did take the cities, they did not take with them the political system of the sovereign city-state. Tribal unity and Israelite unity as a whole remained even after the occupation of the cities. The political instability of the Hebrew tribal system was not healed until the establishment of the monarchy. In the OT as in Mesopotamia a city is by definition a walled and fortified enclosure. Exceptions to this use of the Hb word *'ir* are rare in the OT. The Canaanite and Hebrew cities were extremely small by modern standards, running from 6 to 7 acres to 15, and in a few instances as many as 20 acres. Within these cities the population was densely packed. For some ancient cities a density of 50 to the acre is estimated by modern scholars (cf the density of about 132 to the acre for Manhattan). Within the walled enclosure there were no streets as we think of them but only narrow passages between the houses or groups of houses. The only open spaces within the city were found near the gate or gates, called "squares" in Eng versions. This space had to be left clear for defense, since the gates were the weakest points of the walls. In long periods of peace these squares were sometimes built up and the houses had to be demolished if war broke out (Is 22:10). We read also of houses built upon the wall itself (Jos 2:15). Many of the city's population, if not most, lived in villages outside the walls and cultivated the city's lands; these villages are often called the "daughters" of the city. In time of war the villagers were packed within the walled enclosure. The choice of a site was determined by the presence of water and the defensibility of the site. In the course of time the city built its own mound, called a *tell* (cf ARCHAEOLOGY). The spring was included within the walls, if possible; but frequently this was not possible. In some ancient cities we find complicated systems for securing water in times of siege (cf GIBEON; GHON). There is no indication of any paving of the streets in early Israelite cities, and references to the dirt of the streets are not infrequent (Is 10:6; Mi 7:10). Rubbish and garbage were thrown from the houses directly into the streets. We meet references to scavenging dogs which roamed the streets and lived off the garbage (Ex 22:30; Is 5:25). The squares near the gate served as marketplaces (2 K 7:1) and courts. The elders took their seat at the gates and there adjudicated disputes (Dt 21:19; 2 S 15:2; cf GATE). Men who practiced the same trade or craft often if not usually lived in the same street; and we read that in Damascus and Samaria streets were

set aside for bazaars for merchants from other cities (1 K 20:34).

In the NT the distinction between city and village is preserved. Bethany*, Bethphage*, Bethlehem*, and Emmaus* are called villages, while Nazareth*, Nain*, and Capernaum* are called cities. The Hellenistic cities in the neighborhood of Palestine, particularly the cities of the Decapolis*, were built on the model of the Greek *polis*, around the agora or marketplace, and included baths, a theater, and a stadium. They were built with one or two broad colonnaded avenues which extended across the city. The government of the Gk *polis* was conducted by a senate (*boulē*) and an assembly (*ekklesia*) of the people (*dēmos*). But this Gk *polis* was never accepted by the Jews.

The city acquires a theological significance in the imagery of the NT. This arises from the OT conception of Jerusalem* as the city of God, the place in which Yahweh dwells in His temple. The messianism* of the OT in most of the prophetic books includes the restoration of Jerusalem from its ruins. But the earthly Jerusalem in the NT becomes a type of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is free and our mother (Gal 4:26). The Christians are citizens of the heavenly city (Phl 3:20). The Epistle to the Hebrews places a contrast between the theophany of Sinai* and the approach of the Christians to Mt Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22). They are not citizens of an earthly city, but move toward a city which is to come (Heb 13:14). The city of God is the new Jerusalem which is to come down out of heaven from God (Apc 3:12); the last vision of the seer of Patmos is of Jerusalem, the holy city, coming down out of heaven from God in all the glory of God (Apc 21-22). It shines with the radiance of precious stones, and has 12 gates, each made of precious stones. It has no temple, for the Lord God and the Lamb are its temple. It needs neither sun nor moon, for the glory of God illuminates it, and the Lamb is its lamp. All the kings of the earth will bring their splendor to it, and its gates shall never be shut by night or by day. No one unclean shall enter this city. The imagery of the heavenly city is a testimonial of the conviction that it is in the life of the city that man reaches the highest fulfillment of his desires and powers, and that the life of the city offers opportunities which can never be found in the primitive pastoral or agricultural society.

Clan. Cf TRIBE.

Claudius. Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, emperor of Rome 41-54, son of Drusus

and nephew of Tiberius*. He was proclaimed emperor by the praetorian guard after the assassination of Caligula; but he was a weak and ineffective ruler who left most of the government to his freedmen. It was during the reign of Claudius that the famine predicted by Agabus* occurred (AA 11:22). He was a patron of Herod Agrippa* and established him as king of Judaea. At some undetermined date in his reign he expelled the Jews from Rome (AA 18:2). This expulsion brought Aquila* and Priscilla* to Corinth, where they met Paul.

Claudius Lysias. The chiliarch or tribune in command of the garrison of Jerusalem at the time of Paul's last visit to the city (AA 21:15–23:35). He rescued Paul from the riot caused by Paul's association with the Gentile Trophimus* the Ephesian and has him confined in the barracks. He permitted Paul to address the Jews from the steps of the barracks, but Paul's speech excited a new riot, and the tribune directed that Paul be examined under the lash. Paul escaped scourging by claiming Roman citizenship. The tribune, wishing to find a reason for the riot, brought Paul to a hearing before the high priest* and the council.* When the dispute became violent, the tribune broke off the hearing and returned Paul to the barracks. A centurion discovered that 40 Jews had sworn to fast until they had murdered Paul, and the centurion, to avoid further trouble, sent Paul with an escort of 200 men to the governor Felix* at Caesarea*.

Clean, Unclean. The concepts of clean and unclean appear in four categories.

1. *Food.* The clean animals are defined as those with a cloven hoof which chew the cud (Lv 11:2 ff; Dt 14:4 ff). Animals which have only one of these characteristics (or which appear to have only one) are expressly mentioned: the camel, the rock-badger, the hare, and the pig (Lv 11:4 ff; Dt 14:7). Fish may be eaten if they have fins and scales (Lv 11:9; Dt 14:10). Birds of prey and carrion birds are unclean (Lv 11:14 ff; Dt 14:11 ff). Insects are unclean unless they have jointed legs, such as the locust and the grasshopper (Lv 11:21 ff). Reptiles are unclean (Lv 11:29 ff). Animals which have died a natural death or have been killed by other animals are unclean (Lv 17:15). The code of Deuteronomy relaxes these prohibitions somewhat by permitting animals which are not killed for sacrifice to be eaten, whether they are clean or unclean (Dt 12:15, 22; 15:22).

2. *Leprosy.* Lv 13:1–14:57 contains detailed descriptions of leprosy*, which here

includes a number of skin diseases, as well as descriptions of "leprosy" of houses and garments. The leper is unclean; he must wear torn garments and hair unkempt and cover his beard. He must live outside the community and cry "Unclean" to all who approach him (Lv 13:45 f). His cure must be attested by the priest.

3. *Death.* Contact with a dead body renders a person unclean for 7 days (Nm 19:12, 14, 16). This uncleanness does not prohibit an Israelite from taking part in the Passover* rites (Nm 9:10).

4. *Sexual functions.* Uncleanness is incurred by almost any sexual function, lawful or unlawful, normal or abnormal. A man or a woman who has a discharge from the sexual organs is unclean (Lv 15:2 ff, 16 ff). A woman is unclean during her menstruation (Lv 15:19 ff) as well as during any abnormal issue of blood (Lv 15:25 ff). A woman is unclean after childbirth for seven days if the child is a boy (Lv 12:2), 14 days if the child is a girl (Lv 12:5), and she is to abstain from sexual intercourse for another 33 days after the birth of a boy and another 66 days after the birth of a girl. At the end of the 40 or 80 days there is a rite of purification. A man incurs uncleanness by adultery (Lv 18:20) or by bestiality (Lv 18:23). Normal sexual intercourse rendered one unclean for the remainder of the day (Lv 15:18; 1 S 21:4); most of the instances, however, in which the word unclean is applied to a woman refer to unlawful intercourse (Gn 34:5, 13; Nm 5:13, 27; Ezk 18:6, 11, 15; 22:11; 33:17). A woman who has married a second time after a divorce is unclean for her first husband (Dt 24:4), although she would be free to marry anyone else after the death of her second husband or divorce from him.

Priests, because of their contact with sacred articles, had particular obligations of cleanliness. They are not permitted to incur uncleanness by contact with the dead except the next of kin (Lv 21:1 ff), and the high priest may not incur this uncleanness even for father and mother (Lv 21:11). Should a priest incur uncleanness, he is unclean for the remainder of the day and may not partake of sacrificial foods (Lv 22:4 ff). Uncleanness is incurred by mere contact with the unclean person or object: unclean animals (Lv 5:2), the dead body (Nm 6:7; 19:11, 13, 14, 16). One becomes unclean not only by contact with the man or woman who has an issue from the sexual organs, but also by contact with any furniture or other objects which the person has touched (Lv 15:4–11), and any earthen vessel which he had touched should be broken (Lv 15:12, 20–23, 25–27). Uncleanness is also

communicated to all those who touch the scapegoat (Lv 16:24-28) and by contact with the red heifer*, which is burned (Nm 19:1 ff) in order to obtain ashes for the water of purification.

Uncleanness endures until purification, which in some instances may not be done until a set time has elapsed. The water of purification mingled with the ashes of the red heifer are sprinkled upon the house, the furniture, and the persons in a house where a death has occurred (Nm 19:17 ff). The purification of a woman after childbirth is accomplished by the sacrifice of a lamb and a pigeon or dove (Lv 12:6), commuted to two pigeons or doves for the poor (Lv 12:8). The man or woman who has an issue from the sexual organs must take seven days for purification (Lv 15:13 ff, 28 ff) and they offer a sacrifice of two doves or pigeons. Anyone who touches them is unclean for the remainder of the day, and this uncleanness is removed by bathing (Lv 15:6 ff, 21 ff, 26 ff). The clothing also must be washed after this contact. The same bathing and washing of clothing is required after contact with the scapegoat (Lv 16:24 ff). Bathing is required to remove the uncleanness of normal sexual intercourse (Lv 15:18). After contact with a dead body uncleanness remains for seven days; the water of purification and the ashes of the red heifer are to be employed on the third and seventh days (Nm 19:12, 19). The waters of purification themselves render the person who sprinkles unclean; he must bathe and wash his clothing (Nm 19:21). For the cleansing of the leper cf LEPROSY.

Cleaness is also used in a transferred sense. Both the land (Lv 18:24+) and the sanctuary (Je 7:30; 32:24) may be rendered unclean (cf Nm 35:34; Dt 21:23). The land or the sanctuary is rendered unclean by magicians* (Lv 19:31) or by idols (Ps 106:39; Ezk 22:3; Ho 5:3; 6:10+) and by the offering of the firstborn child as a sacrifice (Lv 20:3). Foreign lands are unclean (Am 7:17). Isaiah speaks of himself and his people as having unclean lips (Is 6:5).

The origin of the concepts of clean and unclean and their meaning do not admit exact definition. The concepts of holy* and unclean resemble each other only in the fact that neither is to be touched and that holiness and uncleanness are both incurred by contact. But the two sets of concepts are formally unrelated. That is holy which in some way belongs to the sphere of deity. The roots of the concepts of clean and unclean are more obscure. Neither can clean and unclean be simply compared with the *tabu* of the primitives of Polynesia, except in the prohibition of touching. Similar prac-

tices are found in many primitive tribes throughout the world; in most of these instances the basis is obscure, as it is among the Hebrews. Uncleanness may be rooted in physical repulsion in leprosy and other skin diseases, but it does not appear in other diseases which are also repulsive. The same inconsistency is found in foods, which cannot be divided easily on the basis of attraction and repulsion. Sexual functions are unclean whether they are natural or unnatural. It is clear that cleanness means fitness for participation in the cult, and that uncleanness disqualifies one from cultic functions. It is not possible to determine a common basis in those things which render one unfit for the cult. Morality is not a factor. Unlawful sexual relations render one no more unclean than do lawful sexual relations or the eating of unclean food. Sin is termed unclean only when the word is used in a transferred sense (cf passages cited above). Furthermore, most uncleanness is removed simply by bathing. Uncleanness is therefore conceived as a physical entity, not a moral state. It seems that in the concept of unclean we have a number of primitive practices which may have been originally related; their basis was possibly no longer understood by the Hebrews themselves. In examining the areas of uncleanness no common element appears except that, excluding leprosy, all the unclean factors are related in some way to the beginning and end of life. The functions of sex are the human acts from which life originates; these and the body of the dead both render one unclean. Food is the means by which life is sustained, although there is no distinction in drink, nor does this tell us why some foods are unclean. It is possible, if the hypothesis is not too fanciful, to conceive that leprosy was imagined as a kind of living death, and was therefore an unclean disease. This would permit us to approach a common element in uncleanness. In ancient Hebrew and other Semitic religions life and death were the area of the divine, where the power of the deity was most obviously manifested. Man's share in the initiation of life by the functions of sex was itself considered a participation in the functions of the deity, and one whose life was just ended had been touched, as it were, by the hand of the deity. Understood in this way the concept of unclean is not entirely dissimilar to the concept of holy; possibly the ideas of unclean and clean arose in a culture which did not possess the idea of the holy, and they were not adopted without some violence and overlapping of the two sets of concepts. There remains, however, the fundamental difference that one removes uncleanness in order to participate

in cultic functions, and one removes holiness in order to return to the profane world. Uncleaness, even if it is analyzed as intimate contact with the mysteries of life and death, does not tell us why this contact should render one unfit for public worship.

In NT times the laws of clean and unclean were interpreted by the Pharisees* with fanatic rigidity, which elicited some of the most severe words uttered by Jesus. He declared that all foods are equally clean (Mt 15:11 ff; Mk 7:14 ff) and accused the Pharisees of cleaning only the outside of the dish (Mt 23:36). He permitted His disciples to ignore the laws of legal cleanliness (Mt 15:1 ff; Mk 7:5 ff). Uncleaness was incurred even by contact with Gentiles (AA 10:28), and this Jewish inhibition was not entirely removed until late in the 1st century.

Clement (Gk *klēmēs*, Lt *clemens*, "mild"), one of Paul's fellow workers (Phl 4:3). The identification of this Clement with the early Christian writer and bishop of Rome is uncertain.

Cleopatra (Gk *kleopatra*, "illustrious father"), a name borne by a number of princesses of the Ptolemaic* dynasty of Egypt*. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor, was the wife first of Alexander* Balas (1 Mc 10:57 f). Her father divorced her from Alexander and married her to Demetrius II Nicator* (1 Mc 11:12). During the captivity of Demetrius in Parthia she became the wife of his brother, Antiochus* VII Sidetes. She bore two sons to Demetrius; she murdered the elder and intrigued for the succession of the younger, Antiochus VIII Grypus, to the throne. She finally attempted to poison him, but was discovered and forced to drink the poison herself (120 BC).

Cleophas (Gk *kleopas*, abbreviated form of Gk *kleopatra*s "illustrious father"). 1. One of the disciples who met Jesus on the road to Emmaus after His resurrection* (Lk 24:18). 2. Gk *klōpas*, the father or the husband of one of the women named Mary* who stood at the foot of the cross (Jn 19:25). If *klōpas* here is the husband of Mary, he is possibly to be identified with Alphaeus* (cf BRETHREN OF THE LORD).

Clothing. In the biblical conception clothing originates from the feeling of shame and sexual desire which was aroused by the first sin (Gn 3:7, 21) and is therefore worn primarily for modesty. The Hebrews regarded nudity as extremely shameful and it is often mentioned as a disgrace suffered by captives in war (Is 20:4; Am 2:16 +). Assyrian

and Egyptian reliefs show that captives were sometimes stripped of their clothing, which became the booty of their conquerors



Egyptian man wearing kilt and woman wearing a linen robe.

(ANEP 8, 10, 358). The word naked is sometimes used to designate a person who is clad only in the undergarment. The Bible itself tells us little of the shape and texture of clothing, and the names of the various garments cannot always be identified. This information must be supplemented by representations of clothing in ancient art. In Hb popular tradition the earliest clothing was made of the skins of animals (Gn 3:21).

1. *Men.* It is not certain that the short kiltlike skirt is mentioned in the OT, unless the word 'ēzōr signifies this garment. The 'ēzōr of linen is mentioned in a parable of Je 13:1 ff. It is also mentioned as worn by Assyrian warriors (Is 5:27) and by the Chaldeans (Ezk 23:15) and by Elijah (2 K 1:8). The messianic king wears fidelity as an 'ēzōr (Is 11:5). The 'ēzōr may, however, be the girdle. The short skirt reaching just above the knees was worn by Egyptian men of all classes in the Old Kingdom, and was the ceremonial garment of the Pharaoh during all of Egyptian history, when the short skirt had been replaced by the longer tunic for all except slaves, soldiers, and men engaged in manual labor. The short skirt is worn by Canaanites in Egyptian art up to the Late Bronze period, when it is replaced by the tunic (Hb *kuttōnet*, Gk

chitōn). This garment, made of wool* or linen*, reached almost to the ankles, and was made with or without sleeves. It was worn over the naked body. During work or travel this garment could be tucked up under the girdle (Ex 12:11; 2 K 4:29; 9:1). The tunic worn by Joseph (Gn 37:3) which aroused the jealousy of his brothers was probably not a "garment of many colors," as in Eng versions, but a tunic with sleeves. Egyptian art, however, does represent the clothing of Syrian and Canaanites as multi-colored in contrast to the clothing of the Egyptians, which was almost always white linen. In some Egyptian pictures Syrians are dressed in garments which appear to be made of strips wrapped around the body spirally; it is not clear that this garment was worn over the tunic. Such a garment doubtless represents festive attire. This garment may be meant by the *sadīn* (Jgs 14:12 ff) which Samson wagered with his Philistine grooms-men. Over the tunic was worn the cloak or mantle, which is designated by a number of Hb words. These different words probably represent different styles of the garment which we cannot distinguish. The most common word is *simlāh*. The modern mantle worn in the Near East is usually square, about 40–44 in on a side. This may be worn over both shoulders or over only one, to leave the arm free for movement. A few biblical indications (Zp 1:8) suggest that foreign styles of the cloak were easily

adopted by the wealthy and the nobles. The ambassadors of Jehu represented on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III are clothed in a mantle which appears to be circular with a hole for the head and a fringed edge, something like a Gothic chasuble (ANEP 352–355). The cloak was used as covering at night, and the Hb legal codes prohibited the moneylender from accepting the cloak of the poor as security (Ex 22:25 ff; Dt 24:13). The cloak was not worn at work (Mt 24:18). It could be used for carrying various objects (Ex 12:34; 2 K 4:39; Hg 2:12). The girdle, a strap of leather or of fabric as much as five in wide, served not only to bind the garments and to tuck them up for work or movement, but was also slitted so as to provide small pockets for coins, knives, etc. The *m'īl* was a type of outer garment worn by kings (1 S 18:4; 24:5, 11), by the high priest (Ex 28:31 ff; Lv 8:7), by Samuel (1 S 2:19; 15:27; 28:14) and by Ezra (Ezr 9:3, 5). These passages indicate that this garment was worn as a sign of royal or sacred office. The *'adderet* is mentioned as a costly garment found in the booty of Jericho (Jos 7:21–24). It was the garment of Elijah (1 K 19:19; 2 K 2:13 ff) which was passed on to Elisha with its wonder-working properties. This garment, made of camel's hair, seems to have indicated the professional prophet* (cf Zc 13:4). The same two garments (tunic: *chitōn* and cloak: *himation*) are indicated in the NT. Jesus bids one who



a) Assyrian genius wearing a fringed kilt and robe. b) Assyrian scene showing prisoners of war, men dressed in long tunics.

is asked for his cloak to yield also his tunic (Mt 5:40; Lk 6:29). It is a sign of wealth to have a change of tunic, and Jesus forbids this to His disciples (Mt 10:10; Mk 6:9; Lk 9:3). The tunic and cloak of Jesus were taken by the soldiers at the crucifixion. The tunic was of unusual texture, being woven without seam (Jn 19:23), which indicates a garment of extremely simple construction. The garment (Gk *ependytēs*) which Peter wrapped around himself in order to meet Jesus (Jn 21:7) is mentioned only here in the NT; it probably signifies the tunic. Fishermen are often represented in Egyptian art as working in the nude, and the fishermen of the Sea of Galilee probably did the same thing. Festive garments for great occasions are mentioned frequently in OT and NT (Gn 27:15; Jgs 14:12; Mt 22:11 ff; Lk 15:22 +). These were made of more costly material and were probably more brilliantly colored.

2. *Women.* The clothing of women also consisted of the tunic and the cloak; the prohibition of exchanging the garments of the two sexes (Dt 22:5) indicates some difference in cut and style. The clothing of women in Egypt was longer and made of finer material than the clothing of men. In later Egyptian art women are represented as clothed in almost totally diaphanous linen robes. Women also wore a veil*. In an Assyrian relief Israelite women are represented as wearing a veil wrapped around the head which trails behind them as far as the ankles.

Cloud. In the OT clouds are an almost universal element of the theophany*. The rainbow in the clouds is a sign of God's covenant not to destroy mankind again by a deluge* (Gn 9:13 ff). Yahweh appears in the midst of the clouds (Jgs 5:4; Ezk 1:4) and the clouds are His chariot (Ps 18:10) or His tent (Ps 18:12; cf also Ps 104:3). Yahweh is the rider of the clouds (Ps 68:5). In popular belief the clouds could conceal men's actions upon the earth from Yahweh's vision (Jb 22:13). In the NT the cloud motif is less prominent. It appears in the narrative of the transfiguration* (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:9; Lk 9:34), in which the voice of the Father issues from the cloud which surrounds the disciples. A cloud removes Jesus from the sight of the disciples in the ascension* (AA 1:9). Jesus predicts that He Himself will come upon the clouds of heaven (Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62). This motif is drawn from the Son of Man* of Dn 7:13. The living at the time of the parousia* will be taken up upon the clouds to meet the Lord (1 Th 4:17).

The pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night which guided and protected the Israelites during the exodus* are sym-

bolic representations of the presence of Yahweh to guide and protect them (Ex 13:21 ff; 14:19 ff; 16:10 +). The cloud of Sinai (Ex 19:16 ff) is no doubt one of the original elements of the association of the cloud with the theophany in the OT.

Cnidus (Gk *knidos*), a city on the SW coast of Asia Minor opposite the island of Cos. In antiquity it was renowned as a center of the study of medicine and the possessor of an Aphrodite of Praxiteles. It was one of the cities to which the Romans addressed the document warning against attacking the Jews (1 Mc 15:23), and it was touched by the ship which carried Paul to Rome (AA 27:7).

Code. Cf LAW.

Codex. Cf BOOK.

Coelesyria (Gk *hē koilē syria*, "hollow Syria"), in 1 Mc 10:69; 2 Mc 3:5, 8; 4:4; 8:8; 10:11, a part of the Seleucid kingdom ruled by the governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia. Properly the name designates the Beqaa, the valley between the Lebanon* and the Anti-Lebanon; but the territory of the governor included Judaea, and the name therefore covered all the territory inland from the coastal plain from N Syria to the boundary of Egypt.

Colossae (Gk *kolossai*), a city of Phrygia* in Asia Minor. Colossae lay in the upper Lycus valley about 80 mi E of Ephesus. The Lycus flows into the Meander (modern Menderes) about 100 mi above its mouth. The valley of the Lycus is about 24 mi long and six mi wide at its greatest width; its altitude above sea level is 500–820 ft. At Colossae the valley is only about two mi wide and is hemmed in by steep cliffs on both sides. In this region lay Colossae, Laodicea*, and Hierapolis. Colossae was situated on a double hill on the S bank of the river. Little is known of the history of Colossae; Herodotus says it was a great city in the time of Xerxes, but in NT times it appears to have declined in importance in favor of Laodicea and Hierapolis. Like these cities it was a center of the wool and dyeing industries. The origins of the church of Colossae are also obscure; it was not founded by Paul, and its foundation is with great probability attributed to Epaphras* (Col 1:7), himself a native of Colossae (Col 4:12).

Colossians, Epistle to the. 1. *Contents.* 1:1–2, greeting.

1. Introduction, 1:3–2:5:
1:3–8, thanksgiving.

- 1:9-12, prayer for further progress.
 1:13-23, the primacy of Christ as redeemer and reconciler.
 1:23-2:5, Paul's mission to the Gentiles and the share of the Gentiles in the salvation of Christ.
- II. Doctrinal, 2:6-23:
 2:6-8, perseverance in faith against misleading teachers.
 2:9-15, life and freedom through Christ.
 2:16-23, polemic against vain ritual practices and enslavement to the "Powers."
- III. Exhortation, 3:1-4:6:
 3:1-17, baptism creates a new man and imposes holiness of life.
 3:18-4:1, instruction for particular classes.
 4:2-6, exhortation to prayer and instructions on dealing with non-Christian neighbors.
- IV. Conclusion, 4:7-18:
 4:7-9, Paul's emissaries.
 4:10-17, salutations.
 4:18, autograph greeting.

2. *Authorship.* Several modern critics question the attribution of Col to Paul. They point out some notable differences in vocabulary; Col contains 86 words not found in the uncontested Pauline writings, of which 34 are not found elsewhere in the NT. The style likewise differs from the style of "the great epistles" (Rm, 1-2 Co, Gal); it becomes hieratic and liturgical, indeed it is often obscure and overloaded. The theology is remarkably developed over the uncontested letters; Col exhibits a more elaborate theology of the Church*, particularly the Church as the body* and Christ as the head; Col uses the term mystery* for the plan of salvation; the idea of knowledge* becomes prominent; and the cosmological-Christological synthesis, while not unparalleled in earlier writings, is here much more complex. These differences are real and should not be denied; but not all scholars believe they demand a different author. The differences in vocabulary can be attributed to the errors which the letter combats; the writer uses the terms familiar to those who had been attracted by these doctrines (cf below) and incorporates them into his own exposition of Christian belief. It must be conceded that the Christological synthesis of Col is new; it seems also that one must with Percy and Cerfaux admit that the synthesis is Pauline. To attribute it to another writer demands that one postulate another man in the primitive community with the genius and the insight of Paul. The question of the authorship and the theology of Col is complicated by its relations with Eph*.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.* Col is one the "epistles of the captivity" with Phl, Eph, and Phm. Its relations with Eph and Phm are close, and this group should be attributed to the same captivity, while Phl* may come from another imprisonment. Ephesus is an unlikely place for these letters. The traditional opinion places them at Rome in 62-63. Some scholars have placed them earlier during Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea; this also appears unlikely, as the developed theology of Col is not in favor of an earlier date.

4. *Occasion and Purpose.* Col was elicited by a doctrinal difficulty; the Church at Colossae was influenced by certain errors. Paul had not founded the Church (cf COLOSSAE); but it had been founded by his companion Epaphras* and he treats it as a Church of his own. The nature of the errors is not clear in detail; it is evident that they arose from some kind of Gnostic syncretism (cf KNOWLEDGE). Cerfaux proposes that it was a mixture of pagan and Jewish elements, perhaps arising among the Jews and accepted by some Christians. The heart of the error was belief in the "elements" or the "Powers" (2:15), intermediate beings between God and man who were thought to have power over men. A cult was paid to these cosmic powers which had features derived from the mystery* cults. L. Cerfaux adds the suggestion that these elements came from vulgar paganism and replaced the gods of paganism. In addition the new belief imposed certain prescriptions on cleanliness, the observance of holy days, and dietary practices; these have connections with the Jewish law, but the error is not simply Judaism. The error was an implicit denial of the position of Christ as sole redeemer and mediator; consequently Paul responds not only by rejecting the errors but by a positive statement of the central and unique position of Christ, both as savior and as a creative and cosmic principle. The theme is taken up again in Eph. Whether the epistle is from Paul or from one of his disciples or companions writing at his commission, it appears that the exposition of the central place of Christ is presented in terms of the Gnostic errors of Colossae, and that Christ is given the titles of honor and power which were given to the Powers.

Confirmation. In Catholic doctrine the second of the seven sacraments*, in which the Holy Spirit* is received by the anointing of the bishop for strength to profess, to defend, and to practice the faith. The sacrament reposes upon the promises of Jesus to send another comforter (Jn 14:16) who will teach the disciples everything (Jn 14:26), who

will bear witness of Jesus and enable them to bear witness (Jn 15:26). He will empower the disciples to speak, for he will tell them what to say (Jn 16:13). The prototype of Christian confirmation is the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles at the feast of Pentecost (AA 2:2 ff). In AA the reception of the Holy Spirit accompanied the baptism* of converts; this gift of the Spirit was usually signified externally by the charismata (cf GRACE). Only in AA 8:15 ff, however, is there any indication of a rite distinct from baptism by which the Holy Spirit is conferred; in this passage Peter and John impose hands upon some Samaritans who had been baptized previously. The Spirit fell upon Cornelius* the centurion and his companions before baptism (AA 10:44), and Peter declared that the reception of the Holy Spirit was a sufficient reason for baptism (AA 10:47). The disciples of Ephesus* who had been baptized with the baptism of John had not received the Holy Spirit, but the Spirit came upon them with the gift of tongues when they were baptized (AA 19:1 ff). There seems little doubt that the sacramental rite conferring the Holy Spirit was considered in the primitive Church to be a part of the rite of baptism, which could be separated from the baptismal rite if necessary but was normally conferred at the same time.

Conscience. There is no single Hb word which expresses the idea of conscience, and the Gk word occurs in the OT only in WS 17:11. This book, composed in the 1st century BC, is influenced by the terminology of Gk philosophy. The reality of conscience as a judgment of the morality of an act to be performed or the recognition that an act already performed is morally bad is found in the OT. The "pangs of conscience" are described with artistic skill in the account of Gn 3. The Hb word which most nearly expresses the idea of conscience is the word *heart**.

In the NT the word *synidēsis* occurs 25 times in the Pauline writings (including Heb), 3 times in 1 Pt and twice in AA, both times uttered by Paul. The word in the meaning of conscience is derived from Stoic philosophy. In Stoicism conscience, which is the ultimate and autonomous judge of one's own acts, is the root of the independence of the sage. Paul adopted the word, as he adopted some other words from Gk philosophy which were current in popular speech, and with it adopted something of the Stoic notion of independence rooted in a good conscience. Substantially, however, his idea of one's personal judgment of moral good and evil reposes upon OT and Gospel

conceptions of sin. Paul himself has a good and clear conscience, that is, he is unaware of any charge which can be laid against him concerning his fulfillment of his apostolic mission (2 Co 1:12; AA 23:1; 24:16). Conscience, i.e., the awareness of the difference between moral good and evil, bears witness against the Gentiles, who show by this awareness that they have the law written in their hearts (Rm 2:15). Paul's conscience also bears witness in his favor that he has done nothing against his Jewish brethren (Rm 9:1). Christians should submit to civil power not only because they fear its wrath but also because of the obligations of conscience (Rm 13:5). Some Christians have a "weak" conscience, i.e., they think it is sinful to eat meat offered to idols when it is not; and those whose conscience is "strong," i.e., better informed, have the duty of not leading these weaker consciences into sin. They should abstain from their use of their liberty in order to avoid scandal (1 Co 8:7, 10, 12). Conscience is indeed a principle of liberty (1 Co 10:29), but this liberty is restrained by the necessity of building up the spiritual strength of one's neighbor (1 Co 10:23). One should eat meat freely without inquiring about its source; but if one learns that it has been offered to idols, one should abstain from eating it not because of one's own conscience, but because of the conscience of another. Paul submits himself to the judgment of the conscience of all men (2 Co 4:2; 5:11). Love proceeds from a pure heart and a good conscience and genuine faith (1 Tm 1:5); by rejecting a good conscience, i.e., Christian standards of moral good and evil, some have made shipwreck of the faith (1 Tm 1:19 ff). False apostles have seared, i.e., insensitive consciences (1 Tm 4:2). To the pure all things are pure, but to men whose intelligence and conscience are stained all things are taken in the worst sense (Tt 1:15). The sacrificial ritual of the Law was unable to purify the conscience, i.e., to remove the sense of guilt (Heb 9:9; 10:2), but Christ purifies the conscience (Heb 10:22). To purify the conscience from dead works (Heb 9:14) perhaps signifies to remove the obligation of performing the works of the Law. Where the word *synidēsis* is used in the NT, it is most frequently accompanied by "good," "pure," "clear." Paul is aware of the possibility of a good conscience which is in sincere error; Christian charity demands that we tolerate this weakness until the conscience can be better instructed.

Copper. Copper made its first appearance in Palestine about 4500 BC and remained the

most common metal until the introduction of iron* (cf BRONZE). The mountains of Canaan are described as hills from which copper can be extracted (Dt 8:9); this is not true of the strictly Israelite territory, but extensive copper deposits existed in the immediate neighborhood. The richest deposits mined by the Egyptians were in the Sinai* peninsula; these were mined through the 19th and 20th dynasties. Nearer to Israelite territory were copper deposits in the Arabah, the gorge which extends from the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Aqabah. These mines were worked from the Early Bronze Age into Middle Bronze, but were abandoned until they were again worked by the Israelites. Edom* was conquered by David, and Solomon set up mining and refining operations at Ezion-geber*. The remains of these refineries were discovered by Nelson Glueck. They were equipped with furnaces and flues which communicated with an air channel. The site was chosen in order to use the strong winds which blow south from the Arabah as a draft. With the use of proper fuel intense heat could thus be generated, and the condition of the mud brick surface of the remaining walls shows that this end was achieved. There were also copper deposits in northern Syria, and the cities of the Phoenician coast were important centers of copper refining and the manufacture of bronze articles, which are found in great numbers in the remains of these cities. For the execution of the metal vessels of the temple* Solomon brought Hiram*, a skilled metalworker, from Tyre* (1 K 7:13 ff).

Corban (Gk *korban*, from Hb *qorban*, etymology uncertain), in the priestly code (39 times in Lv, 38 times in Nm, Ezk 20:28; 40:43) signifies a gift or a consecration of an article to the deity. In Judaism the word came to mean the temple treasury (Mt 27:6). The word as used in Mk 7:11, where it is interpreted as "gift," suggests that it was employed as a formula of consecration of articles given to the temple. Pharisaic interpretation of the law permitted one to consecrate his property to the temple while continuing to enjoy its revenues. Jesus rebukes the hypocrisy which employs this device to avoid the obligation of supporting one's parents from one's property; for property consecrated to the temple could not be employed for profane uses.

Corinth (Gk *korinthos*), a city in the NE Peloponnesus near the E end of the Gulf of Corinth. The city lay near the shore (nearer in ancient times than now). To the S of the city rise the mountains of the Peloponnesus, most prominent of which is

Acrocorinth, a steep rocky slope about 1850 ft high, the citadel of the ancient Gk city and in later times the seat of numerous temples. The importance of Corinth lay in its position on the Isthmus of Corinth, the shortest route from the Adriatic to the Aegean, and thus from Europe to Asia. The ancient Gk city was destroyed by the Romans in 146 bc. The Corinth of the NT was founded by Julius Caesar in 44 bc under the name of Colonia Laus Julia Corinthos as the capital of the senatorial province of Achaia. The first foundation was composed mostly of Italian freedmen; the position of the city, however, attracted a large and mixed population from the east; most of the citizens, it seems, were not Gk. The commercial importance of Corinth in NT times was greater than it had been in the Greek period; commerce between E and W in the Hellenistic-Roman world was more active than it had ever been before. The city of Corinth was situated between its two ports, Lechaeon on the Gulf of Corinth and Cenchreae* on the Saronic Gulf. Goods in transit were transshipped from one port to the other, and smaller vessels could be hauled, cargo and all, on the *diolkos*, a slipway. The distance of the transit was only about 4 mi (the length of the modern canal). Corinth depended essentially on this transfer of traffic, and we read of no major products of the city. But the traffic was enough; ancient writers testify to the splendor of its buildings, and this testimony is confirmed by the remains which have been uncovered. The old Gk city was not entirely destroyed in 146; the most imposing remains are the seven columns of the ancient temple of Apollo. The excavations have been carried on at intervals since 1896 by the American School of Athens. Not all the public buildings have been uncovered, and the residential quarters have not been touched. Both literature and archaeology testify to the large number of temples at Corinth (cf 1 Co 8:5). Besides the large temple of Apollo mentioned above, there were several other temples devoted to this god. There were temples dedicated to Athena, Poseidon, and a notable sanctuary of Asklepios, the god of healing, consisting of a temple and a hospital; the temple contained a large number of votive offerings which have been preserved. The greatest of the sanctuaries was the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, where 1000 slave girls served as hierodules. There was a Jewish synagogue and Jewish colony by AD 50. The city center was built around a large agora 600 by 300 ft surrounded by colonnades and shops. On the S side of the agora were the council chamber and the rostrum for speakers; it is most probable

that Paul's case was heard by Gallio* at this rostrum (AA 18:16 f). On the same side was a basilica, a large public building of unknown purpose. The entire agora was surrounded by temples. The city had public baths, an odeum, two theaters (one seating 18,000), and an amphitheater; Corinth was the seat of the Isthmian games, and Paul's reference to the games in 1 Co 9:24-27 was altogether topical. The paved road to Lechaeon is preserved, but nothing remains of the port installations. Corinth had a reputation as a center of pleasure and of vice both in Gk and Roman times; the Gk proverb said that not everyone should go to Corinth. The city found its way into the Gk lexicon with *korinthia korē* ("Corinthian girl"), prostitute; *korinthiastēs* ("Corinthian business man"), whoremonger; *korinthiazesthai* ("to play the Corinthian"), to visit a house of prostitution. It was as unpromising a community as Paul ever chose for evangelization, and his letters perhaps reflect the character of his congregation there with allusions which are not found in other epistles (1 Co 5:1, 9 f; 6:9 f, 15-20).

Only one visit of Paul to Corinth, his first, is related in AA (18:1-18). He reached the city from Athens on his second journey, about the year 50 (cf PAUL; GALLIO). There he lived with Aquila* and Priscilla*, practicing his trade as tentmaker and preaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath; he converted Crispus*, the president of the synagogue. The Jews, however, rejected him, and he began to teach in the house of Titus Justus*. After 18 months the Jews brought him before Gallio as a teacher of unlawful religion, but Gallio would not even hear the charge. Paul left Corinth "some time" after this and went to Ephesus (AA 18:18); on other visits to the city cf PAUL: CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO. Apollos* also taught in Corinth after Paul's visit (AA 19:1).

Corinthians, Epistles to the. 1. Contents, 1 Corinthians.

I. Introduction: 1:1-3, salutation; 1:4-9, thanksgiving.

II. Abuses at Corinth, 1:10-6:20.

1:10-4:21, factions:

1:10-17, the four factions; 1:18-2:16, the wisdom of God and worldly wisdom; 3:1-23, the work of the preachers of the gospel; 4:1-13, application to Paul and Apollos; 4:14-21, the mission of Timothy and the intended coming of Paul.

5:1-6:20, scandals at Corinth:

5:1-8, a case of incest; 5:9-13, prohibition of contact with the fornicator; 6:1-6, prohibition of litigation before pagan courts; 6:7-11, Christians should suffer injustice

rather than do it; 6:12-20, unchastity is unworthy of the Christian.

III. Answers to Questions, 7:1-15:18.

7:1-40, marriage and virginity:

7:1-7, marriage is lawful; 7:8-11, divorce; 7:12-26, the Pauline privilege; 7:17-24, let each remain in his state; 7:25-35, recommendation of celibacy; 7:36-38, the marriage of virgins; 7:39-40, widows.

8:1-11:1, the eating of meat offered to idols:

8:1-13, freedom to eat such meat combined with duty of renouncing freedom to avoid the scandal of the weak; 9:1-27, Paul's example of renouncing his right to be maintained by the community; 10:1-22, warning against partaking in pagan sacrificial banquets; 10:23-11:1, instructions concerning eating meat offered to idols.

11:2-34, abuses in liturgical cult:

11:2-16, the veiling of women at cultic assemblies; 11:17-34, abuses at the *agapē* and instruction for the celebration of the Eucharist.

12:1-14:40, instructions about charismata:

12:1-31, variety, origin, and purpose of charismata; 13:1-13, excellence of love; 14:1-25, prophecy superior to the gift of tongues; 14:26-40, regulations governing the manifestation and display of charismata.

15:1-58, the resurrection:

15:1-11, the reality of the resurrection of Jesus; 15:12-28, faith in the resurrection (and the Parousia) based on the resurrection of Jesus; 15:29-34, folly of the Christian life on any other basis; 15:35-58, the qualities of the risen body and the destiny of those who are living at the Parousia.

16, Conclusion:

16:1-4, the collection of Jerusalem; 16:5-12, Paul's plans, commendation of Timothy and Apollos; 16:13-23, final exhortations, commendations, and salutations.

2. Contents, 2 Corinthians

I. Introduction: 1:1-2, salutation; 1:3-11, thanksgiving.

II. Paul's defense of himself, 1:12-7:16.

1:12-2:17, the charge of instability and other matters:

1:12-2:4, omission of promised visit due to his love and consideration; 2:5-11, he commends the rebuke of the guilty party and urges that forgiveness be granted him; 2:12-17, Paul's journey to Troas and Macedonia.

3:1-6:10, the apostolic office:

3:1-3, the Corinthian community is proof of Paul's apostolic office; 3:4-18, the apostle is superior to Moses; 4:1-6, fearlessness and candor of the apostle; 4:7-18, the suffering of the apostle; 5:1-10, hope as a power in suffering; 5:11-6:10, Paul's sin-

cerity, the greatness of his message, his testing by suffering.

6:11-7:16, Paul's reconciliation with the Corinthians:

6:11-13 + 7:2-4, request for restoration of communion; 6:14-7:1, exhortation for a complete conversion from paganism; 7:5-16, Paul's pleasure at the news brought by Titus that the community has repented.

III. The Collection for the Church of Jerusalem, 8-9.

8:1-15, exhortation to be generous, the example of the communities of Macedonia; 8:16-9:5, recommendation of his emissaries and his reasons for sending them; 9:6-15, the blessings which God grants the generous giver.

IV. The Adversaries of Paul, 10-13.

10:1-18, rejection of the charges brought by his adversaries and ridicule of their arrogance; 11:1-4 + 16-21, Paul asks them to bear with the boasting which is necessary for the defense of his apostolic mission; 11:5-15, Paul's equality with the "super-apostles," the reasons why he renounced his right to be supported; 11:21-12:13, Paul's sufferings and revelations; 12:14-13:10, his forthcoming visit, apprehensions, appeals, and threats.

V. Conclusion, 13:11-13: appeals, final salutation and blessing.

3. *Occasion.* The occasion of 1-2 Co is a complex series of events which must be reconstructed from the letters themselves. A commonly accepted reconstruction is as follows. Paul's first mission at Corinth lasted 18 months of his second journey, probably beginning in the fall of AD 51 (AA 18). From there Paul went to Ephesus, Caesarea, and Antioch. Apollos came to Corinth shortly after Paul's departure. Paul began his 3rd journey in the spring of AD 54; when he reached Ephesus he became aware of troubles in the Corinthian community. It is not clear how the news reached him; possibly it was the occasion of his dispatch of Timothy and Erastus to Corinth (AA 19:22; 1 Co 4:17; 16:10). Possibly also they bore a letter to Corinth which is not preserved (1 Co 5:9). A delegation then arrived from Corinth (1 Co 16:15-18) bearing a letter with various questions (1 Co 7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 15:1); it may be assumed that they also gave Paul information by word of mouth concerning conditions at Corinth (1 Co 1:11). Paul wrote a letter in answer which they took to Corinth; this letter is 1 Co. When this letter did not have the desired effect, Paul sent Timothy as his representative; but Timothy had no more success. Paul himself then made a brief personal visit which likewise failed (2 Co 2:1); on this visit his apostolic authority was outraged by an unidentified of-

fender (2 Co 2:5-7:12). Paul then returned to Ephesus and wrote "the sorrowful letter" (2 Co 2:4), which is not preserved. This letter was sent with Titus. Paul intended to meet Titus at Troas; when his arrival was delayed, Paul in worry and impatience went to Macedonia, where Titus met him with favorable news (2 Co 2:12-14; 7:5-7). Paul then wrote 2 Co from Macedonia. Both 1-2 Co were probably written in AD 57, 1 Co in the spring and 2 Co in the fall. It is thus likely that 1-2 Co are two of four letters written to the Corinthians, arranged thus: A, the letter of 1 Co 5:9; B, 1 Co; C, the sorrowful letter (2 Co 2:4); D, 2 Co. A number of modern critics suspect that A and C are not lost but have been incorporated into 1-2 Co; cf below.

The occasion of 1-2 Co can be put simply as the encounter of the gospel with Hellenism. All we know about Corinth leads us to believe that there was scarcely a more unlikely place in the entire Roman world for the gospel to find a favorable reception. It must have been well received, however; the affection of Paul for this wayward congregation is transparent, as is his conviction that they, in spite of their faults, have accepted the gospel without reservation. The faults seem to have been something novel in Paul's experience. The factions of Cephas, Apollos, Paul, and Christ have never been identified to satisfaction. They were not factions of heresy or schism; there is no indication that the divisions split the community or bore on points of belief or doctrine. It has been suggested that the factions may have represented Judaizers (Cephas), Hellenists (Paul), exaggerated Hellenists (Apollos), extreme Judaizers (Christ), Gnostics (Apollos), extreme Gnostics who claimed special revelation and deliverance from all moral obligation (Christ). None of these identifications has any secure basis in the text, and several of them imply genuine dogmatic and doctrinal divisions which are not reflected in the words of Paul. We may conclude from other epistles (Rm, Gal, Col) that such deep divisions would not be passed over so lightly. It appears more probable that these were cases of hero worship, of various cliques boasting their favorites and creating the danger of personal jealousy and rivalry among the apostles. "The sect of Christ" no doubt pretended to be above all this and did not acknowledge even proper authority.

The moral difficulties and problems of the Corinthians can be reduced to their recent conversion from Gentile paganism; they have to do with the attitude of Christians toward sex, which is easily conceived as being an urgent problem in Corinth, with the liberty of eating meat offered to idols (the flesh

of victims, after the god's portion was taken, was sold in the open market) and with the proper celebration of the Eucharist, which they seem to have not as yet distinguished from the pagan banquet, religious or secular. In addition they did not know how to deal with the charismata (cf GRACE), which they seem to have confused with ecstatic and rhapsodic manifestations in pagan cults. Finally, they had the typical Gk difficulty of accepting the resurrection of the body. The problem which still had to be dealt with in 2 Co was the reality and the nature of the apostolic mission. The adversaries against whom 2 Co is directed cannot be certainly identified. They must have included Palestinian Jews (2 Co 11:22); but the terms of Paul's controversy with them are not the same as his language when he engages with the Judaizers of Gal and Rm. Hence a number of scholars suppose that they taught some form of gnosis (cf KNOWLEDGE); this would explain why Paul appeals to his own personal revelations (2 Co 12). Kümmel has proposed that two groups united, Palestinian Jews and Gentiles who had accepted a gnostic teaching. What they had in common was opposition to the apostleship of Paul and to his person. These also seem to have claimed apostolic dignity, indeed a dignity greater than the apostles (2 Co 11:5, 12). Paul makes no specific doctrinal complaint against these adversaries, although he hints at one (2 Co 11:3 f); the words seem to show a lack of confidence in these men rather than any definite charge.

4. *Doctrinal Elements.* It is remarkable, in the words of Cambier, how the essential aspects of Christian thought and life are brought out by Paul to meet concrete situations and practical problems. This is the greatness of 1-2 Co, that belief and doctrine are so closely integrated with the urgent problems of life in the immediate present. For the major themes of the epistles cf separate topical articles: APOSTLE; BODY; EUCHARIST; FREEDOM; LOVE; RESURRECTION; WISDOM.

5. *Authorship and Integrity.* The Pauline authorship of 1-2 Co is not questioned seriously by modern scholars. These epistles have the intensely personal style which is so evident in the unquestioned Pauline epistles, with deep and changing emotions. The unity and integrity of 1 Co are likewise not questioned by modern critics; but 2 Co presents a number of problems concerning its composition which are seriously discussed.

The signs of imperfect unity are fairly evident. Chapter 9 has all the appearances of a doublet of chapter 8. There is a marked change in tone from 1-9 to 10-13; the atmosphere of joy and reconciliation of 1-9

turns without warning to one of the most severe passages of all the Pauline corpus, which employs ridicule, admonition, threat, and sarcasm; one might suspect that a reconciliation so recently and so hardly achieved would be imperiled by this passage. There is evident continuity between 6:13 and 7:2 which is broken by the insertion of 6:14-7:1. A number of critics have suggested that both chapter 9 and 6:14-7:1 are epistles or part of epistles directed to different churches; and some believe that in them or part of them we have all or what is left of Letter A to the Corinthians (cf above). Many have suggested that 10-13 contain "the sorrowful letter" (2 Co 2:4, Letter C to the Corinthians above).

The problem of unity and integrity should not be solved by denying the reality of the lack of unity between these passages and the rest of 2 Co; other critics, admitting the problem, have attempted to solve it without recurring to the hypotheses of distinct letters. Some have suggested that the brief visit of Paul to Corinth intervened between the composition of 1-9 and the composition of 10-13; this cannot be made to agree with the reconstruction of events proposed above, which seems best to suit the evidence. Others have suggested a lapse of time between the composition of the two parts; 1-9 were written after the favorable report of Titus, and 10-13 were added when new information was gained which showed that the adversaries still had a following. Still others have pointed out that the dictation of a letter as long as 2 Co consumed considerable time, more than enough for the author to experience a change of mood. Cambier has called the change of tone in 10-13 a psychological rather than a literary problem; this designation of the question seems to presuppose the unity of composition of the letter, which is precisely the problem. Cambier also adduces certain characteristics of ancient composition not only of letters but of prose works in general: the relative independence of the different parts of the composition and the absence of transitions. These characteristics should not be pressed; 1 Co, for instance, treats of a variety of topics, and the transitions are almost always clearly indicated. It seems that no hypothesis of a single composition has been proposed which genuinely fits the unusual phenomena, and a hypothesis that 2 Co has been compiled from more than one letter of Paul enjoys genuine probability. It is quite true that the situation at Corinth is not well enough known for one to be certain, and hence one must make reservations on any theory; but the obscurity of the situation also lends itself to the hypothesis of compilation. It is therefore

improbable that 2 Co in its present form was dispatched to Corinth by Paul.

Cornelius. The centurion in command of the Italian cohort stationed at Caesarea* (AA 10:1). He was a proselyte* of the type called "those who fear God" (AA 10:2), who accepted the Jewish Law but did not become full members of the Jewish community by circumcision. Cornelius was visited by an angel while he was at prayer and directed to summon Peter from Joppa*. When Peter arrived and heard of the vision of Cornelius he instructed him in the story of the life, death, and messiahship of Jesus. At the end of the instruction the Holy Spirit* fell upon Cornelius and all his household and conferred upon them the gift of tongues. Peter found this sufficient justification to baptize them, although they were Gentiles. At the time when Cornelius was visited by an angel, Peter himself saw a vision of a great vessel let down from heaven containing all kinds of animals and birds. When ordered by a voice to kill and eat, Peter refused, because he had never eaten anything unclean; but the voice instructed him that nothing is unclean which God has cleansed (AA 10:9-18). When Peter met Cornelius, he understood from the vision that there was no prohibition against associating with Gentiles, as the Pharisees understood the law of cleanliness (cf CLEAN; AA 10:28 f.).

The story of the conversion of Cornelius is told in such a way as to inculcate two distinct lessons. The first of these is that Gentiles may be received into the Church without circumcision or undertaking the full obligation of the Jewish law. This question was agitated in the primitive Church and was determined by the council of Jerusalem (AA 15:1 ff), but it was still active when Paul wrote Rm and Gal. Connected with the same question was the Pharisaic prohibition of associating with Gentiles and, in particular, of eating with them. Peter himself observed this Pharisaic interpretation on one occasion and was rebuked by Paul (Gal 2:12 ff). The story of the conversion of Cornelius justifies both these elements of Christian liberty by a heavenly vision: one granted to Cornelius, by which he asks for instruction in the gospel, and the other granted to Peter, by which he learns that the Jewish laws of cleanliness do not bind Christians, and that there is no distinction between Jewish and Gentile members of the Christian community. Some scholars think the narrative has been compiled from two different sources or two variant accounts of the conversion of Cornelius, one containing the account of the vision of Cornelius and his conversion, the other containing the account

of the vision of Peter and his admission of Cornelius to social equality.

Cornerstone. The cornerstone, in particular the stone at the base, binds two walls and is chosen for its size. The leaders of tribes and peoples are called cornerstones in the OT (Jgs 20:2; 1 S 14:38; Is 19:13; Zc 10:4). The precious tested stone which Yahweh places at the corner (Is 28:16) is interpreted as the Messiah*, although it is doubtful that the passage means this in the context. The stone rejected by the builders which became the cornerstone (Ps 118:22) is doubtless a metaphor for the deliverance of the psalmist. The passage is applied to Jesus by Jesus Himself (Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10; Lk 20:17). The application is echoed by Peter (AA 4:11; 1 Pt 2:7). In Eph 2:20 and 1 Pt 2:4 ff the Church is represented as a building of which Christ Himself is the cornerstone. The apostles and prophets are the foundation, and the faithful themselves are the living stones of the edifice. Some interpreters believe that the metaphor here refers not to the cornerstone but to the keystone.

Corozain. Cf CHORAZIN.

Cos. An island and its city off the SW coast of Asia Minor. The city received a copy of a decree of the Roman Senate warning against attacking the Jews (1 Mc 15:23) and was the point to which Paul sailed from Miletus* on his last journey to Jerusalem (AA 21:1).

Council (Gk *synedrion*, rendered in some Eng versions as Sanhedrin). The supreme council of the Jews is first mentioned by Jewish historian Josephus as existing in the reign of Antiochus* the Great (223-187 BC). It is first mentioned in the Bible in the Maccabean period (1 Mc 11:23; 12:6; 14:28; 2 Mc 1:10; 4:44; 11:27). In NT times the council was composed of three classes: the elders, i.e., the elders of the chief families and clans; the high priests, i.e., the former high priests and elders of the four high priestly families; and the scribes*, who were mostly members of the sect of the Pharisees*. It seems that the scribes, the professional lawyers, were first admitted to the council during the reign of queen Alexandra (76-67 BC). The council was composed of 71 members including the presiding officer, the high priest then in office. It is not known how members were elected; they were probably co-opted, and probably also for life. In the time of Jesus the jurisdiction of the council was limited to Judaea* proper, which did not include Galilee*. As the supreme religious body it had some au-

thority, which we cannot define closely, over Jewish communities of the Diaspora; it sent messengers to Damascus* to apprehend Christians (AA 9:2; 22:5; 26:12). It is possible that in this instance the council exceeded its authority; in any case, it is not certain that synagogues in foreign countries had any obligation to submit to its decisions. In general, the council was the supreme native court of the Jewish nation; this was in harmony with Roman practice in the provinces, which left native law in force and permitted its enforcement by native officers. The competence of the council was both religious and secular, and the Jewish law was the norm of its decisions. According to Jn 18:31 the council could not pass a capital sentence; capital cases in its own law had to be referred to the Roman governor for confirmation of the sentence—in the trial of Jesus, to the procurator*. It had the power of arrest and its own police (Mt 26:47; Mk 14:43; AA 4:3; 5:17 f). The stoning of Stephen (AA 7:57 ff) seems to have been an excess of the jurisdiction of the council, if it was not an incident of mob violence. The event is probably to be dated at a period when the administration of Judaea was not in strong hands. The place of meeting of the council was somewhere in the complex of the temple buildings or in its neighborhood near the SW corner. The meeting at the house of the high priest by night (Mt 26:57 ff; Mk 14:53 ff) was doubtless due to the fact that the gates of the temple area were shut at night. The Talmud describes the council as sitting in a semicircle with two clerks in front of it, one to record the votes of acquittal and the other to record the votes of conviction. When a capital sentence was involved special precautions were taken. The arguments for acquittal should be heard first, and no one who had spoken in favor of the accused was permitted to give unfavorable testimony. Sentence could not be passed except on the testimony of two witnesses. A sentence of acquittal could be pronounced on the same day, but a conviction could not be pronounced until the following day. Each member voted by rising in the sight of all, beginning with the youngest. A simple majority was sufficient for acquittal, but a conviction required a majority of two. Jesus, speaking metaphorically, says that any one who uses abusive language of another will be summoned before the council (Mt 5:22) and predicts that His disciples will be called before the council for preaching His gospel (Mt 10:17; Mk 13:9). It appears from the Gospels that the case of Jesus was heard before two sessions of the council, one at night at the house of the high priest

Caiaphas*, and the other in the regular court at the following dawn. The hearing at night is mentioned by Mt 26:59 ff; Mk 14:55 ff. Jn refers to an interrogation at the house of Annas* before Jesus was taken to the house of Caiaphas (18:12 ff). Lk mentions that Jesus was taken to the house of Caiaphas (22:54) but speaks of the morning hearing only (22:66). Neither Mt (27:1) nor Mk (15:1) use the word *synedion* of the morning session, but it is quite probable that this was a full legal session. The council interrogated Peter and John about their preaching and prohibited them from preaching any more (AA 4:5 ff). Peter and John refused to obey, but the council released them (AA 4:18 ff). The success of the preaching of the apostles brought about a second arrest and imprisonment (AA 5:17 ff), from which they were mysteriously released. They were again arrested and the prohibition was repeated (AA 5:26 ff), and many of the council, angered by their obstinacy, wished to condemn them to death (AA 5:33). The council was persuaded by Gamaliel to let the matter rest, since the movement, if it were from God, could not be halted by human efforts (AA 5:35 ff). The case of Paul was brought before the council by the tribune Claudius Lysias* (AA 22:30 ff), but when the meeting broke up in violence, the tribune had the case transferred to Felix* the governor at Caesarea*.

Covenant (Hb *berit*, Gk *diathēkē*). 1. OT. In early Hb society written documents were employed little or not at all. In their place the spoken word was invested with ritual solemnity which gave it a kind of concrete reality. The spoken word thus uttered could not be annulled or retracted. If it were a blessing* or a curse*, it followed inexorably after the person to whom it was directed. The covenant was such a solemn ritual agreement which served the function of a written contract. The covenanting parties bound themselves by a ritual agreement which included terrible imprecations upon the party which should violate the covenant. These agreements between men appear throughout much of the OT. The parties to the covenant were not necessarily equal; the stronger could impose his will upon the weaker, or the victor upon the vanquished; or inversely the vanquished or the weaker party could seek a covenant relationship with the stronger. Abraham had a covenant alliance with the Canaanites Eshcol and Aner (Gn 14:13). He made a covenant with Abimelech* at Beersheba which settled the dispute between the two groups about the wells of Beersheba (Gn 21:22 ff). Isaac* also made a covenant with Abimelech concerning water

rights (Gn 26:26 ff); this covenant is probably a doublet of the covenant of Abraham and Abimelech. Jacob, after his flight from Laban*, made a covenant with him (Gn 31:44 ff); Jacob promised to protect the daughters of Laban and to marry no other wives, and Laban agreed not to pass the boundary marked by the stones which were set up at the point of the covenant. This covenant probably was a part of the Hb tradition concerning their boundaries with the Aramaeans. The Gibeonites* made a covenant of alliance with Joshua* by deception (Jos 9:3 ff). The covenant was valid even though the deception was discovered. The men of Jabesh-gilead* asked Nahash*, king of Ammon*, for a covenant of alliance (1 S 11:1 ff); but the terms offered were so cruel as to make acceptance impossible. Jonathan and David made a covenant of friendship (1 S 18:3; 23:18); this covenant had a tragic issue, for it forced Jonathan to choose between the obligations of blood kinship with his father and the covenant relationship with David, both of which admitted no exception. David made a covenant with Abner* on the terms that Abner should win him the allegiance of the tribes subject to Ishbaal* and restore Michal*, the daughter of Saul*, as his wife (2 S 3:11 ff). The tribes accepted David as their king by a covenant at Hebron (2 S 5:3). Solomon had a covenant alliance with Hiram* of Tyre*, according to the terms of which Hiram supplied Solomon with the materials for building the temple* (1 K 5:2 ff). Asa* appealed to the covenant between himself and Ben-hadad* of Damascus* and their fathers, and bribed him to break the covenant between himself and Baasha* of Israel (1 K 15:19). When Ahab* defeated Ben-hadad of Damascus, Ben-hadad asked for a covenant on the terms that he should restore the cities taken from Israel and that the Israelites should have trading rights in Damascus, as the Aramaeans had them in Samaria (1 K 20:34). The high priest Jehoiada* made a covenant with the royal guard to install the infant Jehoash* as king (2 K 11:4). Isaiah spoke of the alliance of Judah with Egypt as a covenant with death and a compact with Sheol* (28:15, 18). During the siege of Jerusalem Zedekiah* and the people made a covenant to liberate their Hebrew slaves; but when the Babylonian army withdrew to meet the Egyptians the people repossessed their slaves (Je 34:8 ff). The kingdom of Judah was under a covenant with the Babylonians, and their rebellion was a breach of the covenant which would be punished by Yahweh (Ezk 17:14 ff). The Israelites make a covenant with Assyria* (Ho 12:2). Tyre is threat-

ened because it has not observed the covenant of brotherhood (Am 1:9), probably by taking part in the slave trade.

This relationship is transferred in Hb belief to be the formula of the relationship of Yahweh and the people Israel. It is not understood here as a bilateral contract between equals, but as a covenant between the greater and the lesser; the greater imposes his will upon the lesser, but it is also an act of grace and liberality. G. E. Mendenhall has shown that the external form of the covenant (historical prologue, terms, oath of fidelity, imprecations) resembles the suzerainty treaty imposed upon a vassal king as illustrated by Hittite treaties (ANET 203). In the covenant Yahweh imposes certain duties upon Israel and in return promises to be their God, to assist them and to deliver them. The Israelites accept the obligations, the most important of which is to worship no other god but Yahweh, and to observe the standards of cult and conduct which He establishes. If they are unfaithful, Yahweh will withdraw His favor. The covenant is more than a mere contract. It establishes an artificial blood kinship between the parties and is second only to the bond of blood. The word used to signify covenant affection and loyalty (Hb *hesed*) is also used to signify the affection and loyalty of kinsmen (cf LOVE). In virtue of the covenant the Hebrews appeal to Yahweh's affection and loyalty; by the covenant He has become their avenger*, obliged to protect and assist them. The prophets, speaking in the name of Yahweh, demand a corresponding affection and loyalty from Israel.

The covenant relationship between God and man is placed early in human history in Hb traditions. To some extent this is a retrojection of later theological belief into the traditions. Thus Yahweh makes a covenant with Noah* (Gn 6:18); the obligations of the covenant are the prohibition of eating blood and of homicide (Gn 9:4 ff). God promises in this covenant not to destroy mankind again by a deluge (Gn 9:11) and as a sign of the covenant places the rainbow in the clouds (Gn 9:12). The covenant ritual described in Gn 15:10 ff is probably the ritual often employed in covenants, although it is mentioned only here. Abraham killed sacrificial victims and divided them into two parts. In a vision Yahweh passed between the parts; in the covenant ritual no doubt both parties passed between the parts, imprecating upon themselves a fate like that of the slaughtered animals if they violated the covenant. Circumcision* is a sign of the covenant (Gn 17:10). The covenant with Abraham was in Hb tradition the original basis of their relationship with Yahweh;

but the covenant of Israel itself as a people was the covenant of Sinai* (Ex 19:1 ff). After ritual preparation of the people Yahweh appears in the storm and the earthquake, reveals Himself as the God of Israel, and imposes upon Israel the obligations of the covenant. The laws which are placed in Ex after this event are called the covenant code (cf LAW). Two covenant rituals are mentioned in Ex 24, perhaps from two different traditions. In the ritual of blood the blood of sacrificial animals is sprinkled on the altar*, representing Yahweh, and on the people. The contracting parties thus symbolically become one blood, one family (Ex 24:3-8). The other ritual procedure is the ritual banquet, in which Moses, Aaron and his sons, and 70 of the elders of Israel representing the entire people share a common meal with Yahweh; this also symbolizes covenant union (Ex 24:1-2, 9-11). The covenant statement of Ex 34:1 ff, which in the present text is a renewal of the covenant violated by the golden calf, is probably another tradition of the Sinai covenant. By the terms of the covenant of Sinai the Israelites become Yahweh's peculiar possession out of all the peoples of the earth, a kingdom of priests, a holy nation (Ex 19:5 ff). This probably indicates that the covenant confers upon Israel the peculiar sanctity compared to other peoples which the priestly class has compared to the laity of Israel. In an obscure way it may possibly also suggest the position of Israel as a mediator to other peoples; this idea becomes explicit in later OT writings. The covenant arises from the initiative and election of Yahweh and not from the merits of Israel. The covenant of Sinai is elsewhere summed up in the formula "You shall be my people and I will be your God" (Je 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; Ezk 11:20; 14:11; Ho 2:25 +). This formula is possibly the form of the matrimonial contract, since the formula of the marriage contracts of the Elephantine* papyri is practically identical: "She is my wife and I am her husband this day and forever." The salt of the sacrificial victims is a sign of the covenant (Lv 2:13); in Arabic to eat salt with another is to seal a bond of friendship. Particular covenant obligations are sometimes called a covenant (Lv 24:8). The visible symbol of Yahweh's presence in Israel was the ark* of the covenant. The two stone tablets of the law are the tablets of the covenant (Dt 9:9, 11, 15). Renewals of the covenant are recorded in the OT; in the opinion of some scholars a covenant renewal was included in the annual cycle of feasts, although this is not expressly mentioned in the OT. Dt represents a renewal of covenant in Moab* (28:69).

This is probably a retrojection of the covenant renewal ceremony to early times. The ceremony is described in Dt 27:11 ff; there are ritual blessings for the observance of the covenant and imprecations for its violation. The people, assembled between the slopes of Ebal* and Gerizim*, accept these blessings and curses. In the covenant ceremony of Shechem* (Jos 24:1 ff) Joshua recites the great deeds of Yahweh by which He delivered Israel and in response the people accept the obligation of serving Yahweh alone. This covenant is recorded in writing (Jos 24:26). The ceremony is described as a covenant renewal; but M. Noth and a number of modern scholars believe it was the imposition of the covenant upon all the tribal groups which comprised Israel at the formation of the tribal amphictyony (cf ISRAEL). The dedication of Solomon's temple included a covenant renewal ceremony, with a recitation by Solomon of the history of the election of Israel and of the house of David, a restatement of covenant obligations, and a petition that Yahweh will, as He has promised, hear the prayers of the people in this sanctuary. There is no explicit mention of the solemn acceptance of the people, but this is easily presumed. The covenant was renewed by the high priest Jehoiada* after the assassination of Athaliah*, and the people destroyed the images of the Baal* and slew the priests (2 K 11:17 ff). Josiah renewed the covenant (2 K 23:2 ff) on the basis of the book which had been found in the temple (2 K 22:8 ff); this book is identified by modern scholars with the code of Deuteronomy. As a result of the renewal Josiah cleansed not only the temple but also Jerusalem and his entire territory of all traces of Canaanite worship. An elaborate ceremony of covenant renewal was conducted by Ezra*. This took place at the feast of Tabernacles*. The feast was observed by the building of booths and the law was read aloud to the assembly, which confessed its sins and the sins of its fathers. There was a ritual recitation by Ezra of the history of Yahweh's deliverance of Israel and of the previous sins of the people. The covenant is renewed and the written document of renewal is signed by the priests, the Levites, and the nobles (Ne 8:12 ff). Yahweh also established a covenant with David and with his house. This covenant is stated in the oracle of Nathan* (2 S 7:5 ff), although the word covenant is not employed, and is restated in Ps 89:20-38; cf also Ps 132. By the terms of the covenant Yahweh elects David and his house for an eternal dynasty. The eternity of the dynasty is absolute. David and his descendants, however, are under covenant obligations to observe

the law of Yahweh; if they fail they will be punished, although the eternity of the dynasty stands (cf KING; MESSIAH). The covenant with the house of David and with the house of Levi*, by which an eternal priesthood is promised to Levi, is stated in Je 33:17 ff; while this passage is not certainly to be attributed to Jeremiah himself, it exhibits the transfer of the covenant idea from Israel itself to its charismatic officers. The covenant with the house of David tends to absorb the covenant with Israel, of which the king becomes the bearer (Is 55:3 f). It is somewhat remarkable that the word covenant is not common in the writings of the prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries. This cannot be explained by the assumption that the idea of covenant is entirely the creation of later writers; it is impossible to explain its diffusion through so much of the older material of the OT. The reality of the covenant idea that Israel has been chosen by Yahweh, that Yahweh is its God, and that it has peculiar obligations not shared by other peoples to observe the standards of worship and conduct which Yahweh has given it, is basic in the prophets. The word covenant is used by Hosea (6:7; 8:1) in a sense identical with its religious use elsewhere. The word is more common in Je than in any other prophetic book, and its use shows the influence of Dt. Jeremiah is not indebted to Dt for his original idea of the new covenant (31:27 ff). The old covenant, which was written on stone tablets, is contrasted with a new covenant which Jeremiah foresees in the future. This will not be written on stone but on the heart. Instead of external instruction this covenant will contain an interior principle of personal regeneration; hence charismatic leaders such as prophets and priests, who instruct the people in the obligations of the law of Yahweh, will not be necessary in the new covenant. Yahweh will teach each individual Israelite as He taught the prophets and the priests. It is against the traditional background of the covenant that Isaiah calls the servant* of Yahweh "a covenant of a people" (42:6; 49:8). This obscure phrase is to be explained by the parallel "light of nations" (42:8) and by the function assigned to the servant in both these passages. He is to deliver prisoners, to bring light in darkness, to restore the land. His mission, therefore, is compared to the covenant promises of Yahweh; through the servant Yahweh makes Himself known to the peoples and communicates both His promises and His obligations. The covenant is a basic and recurring motif in the OT. It is a motive urged on the Israelites for the observance

of the law (Dt 4:23). It is a motive of Yahweh's anger by which He punishes (Lv 26:15, 25; Dt 31:16 f; 2 K 17:15; Ps 78:10, 37; Is 33:8; Je 11:3 ff; 22:9; Ezk 16:59). The covenant is appealed to as a motive why He should assist the Israelites in distress (Lv 26:9; Dt 7:9, 12; 8:18; Pss 25:10; 74:20; 105:8; 106:45; 111:5; Je 14:21), and why He should show mercy and forgiveness (Lv 26:42; Dt 4:31; Ezk 16:60). It is the ultimate motive why His mercy is enduring, why Israel always remains His people (Lv 26:45; Ps 111:9; Is 54:10; 59:21; 61:8; Je 32:40; Ezk 34:25; 37:26).

2. NT. The Gk word *diathēkē* occurs 26 times in the NT. Seven are quotations from the OT, and 16 others allude to the OT. In the formula of consecration Jesus calls His blood the "blood of the covenant" (Mt 26:28; Mk 14:24), "the new covenant in my blood" (Lk 22:20; 1 Co 11:25). This passage refers to the blood of the covenant ceremony (Ex 24). As the blood of the old covenant united the partners in one relationship, so the blood of Jesus is now the bond of union between the covenant parties, God the Father and the Christian. Paul mentions the "covenants" among the privileges of Israel (Rm 9:4); the use of the plural is obscure, but it probably refers to the renewals of the covenant in the Pnt mentioned above. The apostles are ministers of the new covenant which is not of the letter but of the spirit (2 Co 3:6 ff); this passage alludes not only to Je 31:31, but also to Is 59:21, in which the spirit is given in the covenant of the future. The old covenant is not annulled; the new covenant is a continuation of the original covenant made to Abraham (Gal 3:15 ff). The two covenants are typified by the two sons of Abraham, one the son of a slave and the other the son of a free woman (Gal 4:21 ff). The new covenant of the priesthood of Christ is superior to the old because it is confirmed by the oath of God (Heb 7:22); this is a free treatment of the idea, since God swears more than once in the OT to keep His covenant (Dt 4:31 and frequently in Dt), but not of the priesthood. The author of Heb treats the old covenant as obsolete and antiquated (Heb 8:13); this is a slightly different view from that expressed by Paul in Gal and Rm, where the old covenant is not annulled by the succession of the new, but rather fulfilled. Both authors, however, are in agreement that the obligations of the old law disappear with the coming of the new, and that the redeeming death of Jesus exceeds in virtue any means of redemption in the old covenant. Of the new covenant Jesus is the mediator (Heb 9:15). In Heb 9:16 ff the

author plays upon the meaning of *diathēkē* as last will and testament, which it has in classical and Koine Gk; and thus the new covenant is a testament in the sense that it is not valid until the testator, Jesus Himself, has died.

Creation. 1. *Mesopotamian and Canaanite myths of creation.* To understand the OT idea of creation it is necessary to have some knowledge of the mythology of creation in Mesopotamia and Canaan, since the OT incorporated some motifs from this mythology against which as a whole it took a stand in direct contradiction. The classic Mesopotamian account is found in the epic *Enuma Elish*. The form in which we possess this is a later edition of an older composition. The creative deity in the present edition is Marduk*, the god of Babylon. It is certain that in older accounts other gods had this position and these changes represent the rise and fall in importance of various Mesopotamian deities. The Mesopotamian account of creation begins with a chaos. It is easy to recognize in this chaos the sea, a formless monster which is hostile to the land and perpetually attacks it. In the beginning of the myth there is no land. The chaos is personified as two deities, the male deity Apsu and the female deity Tiamat. These two are the

source by generation of all beings. They first beget the gods; but hostility arises between parents and children, and finally Apsu is slain by Ea, who was probably the creative deity in an older form of the poem. Tiamat is now revealed as the dragon of chaos, a monster. From her womb she spawns a whole horde of demons to assist her in her attack upon her offspring. The gods in terror seek a champion, but several gods refuse the challenge; it is finally accepted by Marduk, the son of Ea. In combat Marduk slays Tiamat; he catches her in his net, inflates her with the wind, and pierces her with an arrow. The gigantic carcass of the monster is the material from which Marduk creates the visible universe. Extensive portions of this part of the myth have been lost; but it is evident that Marduk creates a world in which the disk of the earth rests upon the abyss of the ocean. Over this structure arches the sky, in which move the stars, and above it are the chambers of rain and wind. The heavenly bodies become the seats of the deities of Mesopotamia; and Marduk builds himself his heavenly palace, whose earthly counterpart is Esagil, the temple of Babylon*. Man is made of clay mixed with the blood of a slain god, Kingu, an ally of Tiamat, in order to carry on the cult of the gods.

The myth clearly exhibits the belief in the



Marduk in combat with the dragon of chaos.

production of the universe from a preexisting chaos. This chaos is the ultimate principle of the origin of all things, and itself arises from nothing. It is divine in character, for it is the parent not only of men but also of gods. Creation is the victory of the creative deity over this monster. The myth had an important place in Mesopotamian cult. The cycle of nature, in which life is born anew each year to perish at the end of the year, was conceived as a recurring cycle of creation and chaos. In the spring life must be born anew; hence the New Year was celebrated by the recitation of the myth of creation and by its ritual reenactment. Extensive fragments of the Babylonian ritual have been preserved. The two principles of creation and chaos in Mesopotamian myth are equally balanced, and the victory of the creative deity is never final, since in his turn he must yield to chaos. The same pattern appears in Canaan. In the Ugaritic* tablets there is the myth of a combat between Aleyan Baal* and at least two other adversaries, Mot (whose name suggests the Canaanite word for death) and a monstrous dragon which is called Sea-River. These two adversaries perhaps represent two earlier forms of the myth. The dragon of chaos is easily recognized in Sea-River, and death is the adversary of life. Aleyan Baal is a god who annually dies but is brought to life by his female consort and again engages in victorious combat with his adversary.

2. OT. The Bible contains two accounts of creation at the beginning of Gn, although the word is less properly applied to the second. The first in the book, although it is now generally regarded as more recent in origin, is found in Gn 1:1-2:4a. This account is built up according to a scheme of enumeration.

Day Work Works of Division

- | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------|
| 1 | I | Light and Darkness |
| 2 | II | Upper and Lower Waters |
| 3 | { III | Land and Sea |
| | { IV | Vegetation |

Day Work Works of Ornamentation

- | | | |
|---|--------|----------------------|
| 4 | V | Sun, Moon, and Stars |
| 5 | VI | Birds and Fish |
| 6 | { VII | Animals |
| | { VIII | Man |

Eight works are distributed within six days. The first four are called works of division, and the second four works of ornamentation (Thomas Aquinas). The enumeration presupposes the same picture of the visible world which is seen in the *Enuma Elish*. The earth is a flat disk which rests upon the waters of the lower abyss, the ocean, which completely surrounds it. This picture has

been obtained by the division of the primeval abyss into the waters of the lower abyss, the ocean, and the waters of the upper abyss, the celestial waters, which descend in the form of rain and dew. They are divided by the inverted bowl of the sky, "firmament" in Eng versions. That which first appears is light, although celestial bodies do not appear until the 4th day. The division of light and darkness, however, does not refer to the light given by sun and moon. This is the cosmic light*, the proper element of deity in both OT and ancient Semitic mythology; the first of God's creative works is to expel darkness, the element of chaos and evil, by the intrusion of the light of His own glory. The land is obtained by the division of the waters of the ocean. The works of ornamentation follow the order of the works of division: the celestial bodies of the firmament, the birds which fly beneath the sky and the fish of the lower abyss, and the land animals and man. The order of enumeration is obviously schematic and has no reference to the chronological development of the earth, of which the author had no knowledge.

A comparison of this account with the *Enuma Elish* reveals that it is an explicit polemic against the Mesopotamian and Canaanite myth of creation. Chaos appears in Gn, and the Hb word *r'hôm* is etymologically connected with the Akkadian *tiamat*; but it is no longer personified as a deity, nor does it exhibit the primeval principle of sex. Nor is it the source and origin of all things; the sole creator in Gn is God. In enumerating the works of creation the author mentions some which were in Mesopotamian mythology identified with deity, either by personification or as the seats of deity. Light itself is a divine element, but here it appears merely as the first of creatures. The sky is in the OT also the residence of God (cf HEAVEN), but here it becomes merely an inverted bowl dividing the waters. The heavenly bodies, which were the seats of deity in Mesopotamia as well as the means by which the will of the gods was ascertained (cf DIVINATION) are here reduced to means of telling time. Man is the last of the creatures in both accounts, but his position is more significant in Gn than it is in *Enuma Elish* (cf MAN). Here man is made in the divine image, and in virtue of this image receives dominion over the rest of creation. The arrangement of the works of creation in six days followed by a Sabbath* of divine repose is not intended to indicate the time elapsed during the formation of the universe. No doubt it does suggest, as many writers propose, that the week with its Sabbath, the sacred unit of time among the Hebrews, is

represented as one of the original works of creation, and that the life of man is to be modeled after the creative process which is here set forth. It is possible also that the writer, by presenting God as following the same schedule of work as man, wishes to emphasize the fact that creation is work and not a combat which issues in God's victory over the monster. This creation account is marked by a serenity and undisturbed dominion of God over the things which He makes. Creation is accomplished by the spoken word, and not by work of any kind. God is the king who needs only speak to have His will accomplished; the creator, however, has no assistant in the execution of His creative work. In wisdom literature the divine wisdom* appears with Him in the work of creation (Pr 8:22-31); but this personified attribute is not a distinct being. He is the sole operative cause. Hence there is no question of His entire supremacy; the author has represented it as best he knew how.

Whether the author represented God as creating from nothing is not easily answered. Creation from nothing is not denied by the author of Gn; but it is extremely improbable that he affirms it. Creation from nothing as it is taught in modern theology presupposes a philosophy of nature which the Hebrews did not have. They did not answer the question because they were unable to raise it; but the metaphysical affirmation of creation from nothing rests upon an idea of the divine supremacy which is identical with the biblical idea. The word which is used for creation in Gn 1 is *bārā'*. This word is used in the OT only with the deity as the subject; hence it indicates a work which is distinctively divine, which no agent less than God can accomplish. In Gn 1 it is used in the first verse, which summarizes the entire process and does not, as it is sometimes interpreted, signify the initial step in the creative work. The first step is the command that there be light. The word is used elsewhere in the chapter of the creation of animals (1:21) and of man (1:27). Since each of these works is a new stage, the production of animal life and of human life, the word is aptly used. It does not of itself, however, indicate creation from nothing, but the divine productive action. The Hb author was not able to go beyond the formless chaos which he has in common with Mesopotamian mythology. His imagination was unable to grasp a pure production from nothing. He did, however, reduce this chaos to mere shapeless matter with which God works, and in this way denied its divinity and that it was the primeval principle of creation. The account concludes with an affirmation of the goodness of all

which God has made (Gn 1:31). The author thus denies any dualism, which is implicit in Mesopotamian and Canaanite mythology. In this hypothesis evil is as primary as good; the universe contains together with the creative deity a hostile or an "evil" principle which the deity never effectively vanquishes. This the Hb author wished to reject. Again he asserts God's supremacy over His creation by this affirmation, as well as the possibility that a universe which was created totally good can in the future by the same divine power be restored to total goodness.

The second "creation account" (Gn 2:4b-25) is not properly concerned with creation itself. The origin of the world is not even described. It is conceived not as the primeval abyss but as a desert; and creation here seems to be effected by the irrigation of the desert through the streams which God sends out over the earth. The first piece of God's effective creation is the garden of Eden* (cf PARADISE), and there God places man. Man is made of clay into which God breathes His own breath (Gn 2:7). This is in contrast to the account of the *Enuma Elish* in which man is made of clay mingled with the blood of a slain god; Hb belief, of course, could not tolerate this concept, but the Hb author affirms the divine element in man, the breath of God by which he lives. Man, placed in the garden, then sees all the animals created, to which he gives names, thus exhibiting his own wisdom. The creation of the animals is merely preliminary to the next step, and is intended to show that there is among the animals no helper suitable for man (Gn 2:20). Hence woman is created, of the same species and nature as man (Gn 2:23), and intended to be the full partner of his life (Gn 2:24). Creation in this account is more anthropomorphic than in Gn 1. God is here represented as creating man as the potter molds an earthen vessel (*yāsar*; Gn 2:7). This is creation by work rather than creation by word. At the same time the supremacy of God over His creation is no less than in Gn 1.

Elsewhere in the OT there are not infrequent and obvious echoes of the myth of creation. In these allusions Yahweh is represented as the creative deity victorious in combat. Yahweh slays the monster serpent Leviathan* (Is 27:1 ff); He hews Rahab* in pieces and pierces the sea monster (Is 51:9 f); the helpers of Rahab bow down under Him (Jb 9:13); He smites Rahab and pierces the fleeing serpent (Jb 26:12 f); He crushes the heads of dragons and Leviathan (Ps 74:13-15). Elsewhere the sea is represented not as slain but as put under restraint. It is enclosed by bar and doors

(Jb 38:8 ff); Yahweh commands its pride and suppresses its billows (Ps 89:10 f; cf also Ps 104:6 ff). If Yahweh were to relax the bonds which keep the monster under restraint, the world would relapse into primeval chaos. Some of the passages in which Yahweh is described as a warrior hero (Ex 15:3; Ps 89:14; Is 51:9), are possibly derived from His victory over chaos in creation, although elsewhere the title reflects His mighty deeds in defense of Israel.

The Sabbath rest of Yahweh after creation (Gn 2:2) is a theological conception peculiar to the author of the first creation account. Elsewhere in the OT creation is generally represented as a continuous activity which is renewed day to day. Each manifestation of Yahweh's dominion over nature may be conceived as a reenactment of the drama of creation. The Hebrews had no conception of the course or laws of nature, and looked at it as constantly regulated and governed by the will of Yahweh. Thus He brings forth the host of heaven by number and calls them by name (Is 40:26). Not only in their first creation but in their daily appearance He marshals the host of heaven (Is 45:12) and they arise when He calls them (Is 48:13). He makes dawn and darkness, turns darkness into dawn and darkens day into night (Am 4:13; 5:8). He measures the water in the hollow of His hand (Is 40:12). He sustains the life which He has given; He gives life to men upon the earth, and spirit to those who walk in it (Is 42:5). He brings forth springs in the valleys for the wild beasts and makes grass and herbage grow for the cattle. The animals wait upon Him to receive their food in due season. When He takes away His breath they die; but when He sends forth His breath they are created, and thus He constantly renews the face of the earth (Ps 104:10, 14 f, 28 ff). Yahweh is frequently praised in the OT as creator (Pss 8; 19:1 ff; 24:1 ff; 33:6 ff; 95:5; 104; Pr 8:22 ff; Jb 38:4 ff; BS 42:22-43:33; Is 40:12 ff, 26, 28; 45:18; 48:13). In Jb 38 and Pr 8:22 ff the universe is imagined in more detail as a vast edifice, with pillars which rest upon foundations laid in the abyss, chambers or storehouses for light and darkness, wind, snow, and hail. In these allusions to creation the point of admiration is often not power, as we would expect, but wisdom (Ps 104:23, 28 ff; Pr 3:19 f; 8:22 ff; Jb 38:4 ff). The creative wisdom* of Yahweh is a directive intelligence which maintains order and harmony among so many conflicting and divergent agents; the paradox of a universe which moves toward the end ordained for it by God in spite of these divergences was

an object of constant admiration to the Hebrews.

Two passages in late Gk books (1st century BC) are probably affected by Gk language and thought. WS 11:17 says that God made the world "from formless matter"; the words are those of Gk philosophy, but the idea does not advance beyond Gn 1:2, which the writer desired to express in a Gk formulation. In 2 Mc 7:28 it is said that God made the heavens and the earth and all that is in them "not from existing things," which in the Gk of the writer is equivalent to "non-existing things," nothing. The idea can be paralleled from extrabiblical Jewish writings of the same period. It is very probable that the phrase is a paraphrase in Gk of *tôhû wābôhû*, the desolate waste of Gn 1:2.

3. NT. Creation is not emphasized in the NT. In the Synoptic Gospels even scattered allusions are few (Mt 19:4; Mk 10:6; 13:19). It is more frequent in the Pauline writings. The creative works of God manifest His invisible power and divinity, so that no one has any excuse for failing to distinguish the creator from the creature (Rm 1:20 ff). It is God from whom and through whom all things come into being, and to whom all things tend (Rm 11:36). Paul makes Christ the principle of creation, the firstborn of every creature, in whom everything in heaven and earth is created, both visible and invisible. All things are created through Him and tend to Him. Everything comes into being through Him (Col 1:15 ff). God has made the world through His Son, who bears all things through His powerful word (Heb 1:2 ff). In Jn all things were made through the Word* and without Him was made nothing that comes into being. In Him is life, and the world was made through Him (Jn 1:3 f, 9). Christ is also the principle of a new creation. If one is in Christ, one is a new creature (2 Co 5:17). Christians are God's work, created in Christ Jesus (Eph 2:10). Christ has made of Jew and Gentile one new man (Eph 2:15). There is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision but a new creature (Gal 6:15).

Crescens (Gk *krēskēs*, from Lt *crescens*, "growing"), a companion of Paul mentioned in 2 Tm 4:10 as having gone to Galatia* from Rome.

Crete. A large island of the Mediterranean, lying south of Greece in the Aegean Sea. Its western tip is about 60 mi S of the Peloponnese. Its length E to W is about 150 mi, and its width varies from 7 to 30 mi. The history of Crete has been recovered by British excavations under Sir Arthur Evans

and J. Pendlebury since 1900. These disclose that Crete in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC was the most important center of Aegean culture. Its history is divided into three periods (called Minoan after Minos, the king of Crete in Gk mythology): Early Minoan, 3400–2000 BC; Middle Minoan, 2000–1580 BC; Late Minoan, 1580–1250 BC. The excavations disclosed a highly developed culture. The palace of Minos at Knossos was an elaborate complex of well constructed buildings which may be the original of the tale of the labyrinth. Cretan art reached a high state of technical development. The commercial relations of Crete with the Aegean islands, with Asia Minor, and with Egypt were extensive; and Cretan articles reached Syria and Palestine directly or indirectly. The Minoan culture perished in a barbarian invasion from the N which scattered the Aegean peoples as far as Palestine and Egypt. On the possible relation of Crete with the "Sea Peoples" and Philistines cf CAPHTOR; CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES; PHILISTINES. The Linear B script of Crete was deciphered after 1950 by Michael Ventris and others. This discovery proved that the language of Minoan Crete was early Greek. Crete had no political importance after 1200 BC. The Cretans were famous as archers and appear as auxiliary troops in ancient wars. The island had Jewish residents at the time of Christ (AA 2:11). Paul was shipwrecked on his voyage to Rome after the ship had left the port of Fair Havens* on Crete and was attempting to make the harbor of Phoenix* on the same island (AA 27:7, 12). Paul himself had urged the officers to winter in Crete (AA 27:21). A visit of Paul to Crete on a missionary journey is implied in his remark that he left Titus* at Crete to correct abuses and appoint presbyters (Tt 1:5). Paul also testifies to the bad reputation of Cretans in antiquity, quoting a line of Epimenides which describes them as liars, savage brutes, and lazy gluttons (Tt 1:12).

Crispus (Gk *krispos*, from Lt *crispus*, "curly-haired"), the presiding officer of the synagogue of Corinth (*archisynagōgos*), one of the first of the Jews of Corinth to accept Paul's preaching of the Gospel (AA 18:8) and one of the few Corinthians who was baptized by Paul himself (1 Co 1:14).

Crocodile. The crocodile has been extinct in Palestine since the latter part of the 19th century AD. Previous to this period it was found only in the marshes at the mouth of the Nahr ez Zerka in the coastal plain N of Caesarea*, now drained. The crocodile is described as the mythological monster

Leviathan* (Jb 41) and is possibly the "monster" identified with the Pharaoh of Egypt in Ezk 29:3; 32:2.

Cross. Crucifixion was an oriental mode of punishment introduced into the west from the Persians*. It was little used by the Greeks but was employed extensively both by the Carthaginians and the Romans. In Roman literature it is described as a cruel and feared punishment which was not inflicted on Roman citizens; it was reserved for slaves or for non-Romans who had committed heinous crimes such as murder, robbery and piracy, treason, and rebellion. It is not mentioned in the OT. Josephus reports that Antiochus Epiphanes crucified



Caricature of crucified figure with ass's head.

Jews who refused to obey his decrees of Hellenization, and that Alexander Jannaeus crucified his adversaries among the Pharisees. The X-shaped St. Andrew's cross was not used in antiquity. The cross on which Jesus was crucified was either the T-shaped *crux commissa* or the dagger-shaped *crux immissa* or *capitata*. The latter form is suggested by the fact that the title was affixed above His head (Mt 27:37). Since the execution of Jesus was committed to Roman soldiers, it is altogether probable that the Roman manner of execution was followed. The cross carried by Jesus to the place of execution, according to customary procedure, was not the entire cross, but only

the crossbeam. As a rule, the upright beam was left permanently at the place of execution and the crossbeam was attached at each particular execution. The arms of the criminal were first attached to the crossbeam while he was stretched flat on the ground; he was then elevated together with the crossbeam to the upright beam, and his feet were then fastened to the upright beam. The fastening was done either by ropes or by nails; if nails were used, four were employed. The criminal was always attached by ropes bound around arms, legs, and belly; the nails would not support the weight of the body and the ropes prevented the victim from wriggling loose. Most of the weight of the body was supported by a peg (Lt *sedile*, "seat") projecting from the upright beam on which the victim sat astride. This is not mentioned in the NT but is described by a number of ancient Roman writers. The support for the feet (Lt *suppedaneum*), so common in Christian art, was unknown in antiquity. The victim was elevated scarcely more than a foot or two above the ground, low enough for a bystander to reach his mouth by putting a sponge upon a reed (Mt 27:48; Mk 15:36). The Romans crucified criminals stripped entirely naked, and there is no reason to think an exception was made in the case of Jesus. The clothing of the criminal went to the soldiers as a gratuity (Mt 27:35). A title with the criminal's name and his crime was written on a placard to be worn around the neck to the place of execution; this was affixed above the head of Jesus on the cross. The placard by Pilate's irony contained not a criminal charge but the title "King of the Jews" (Mt 27:37; Mk 15:26; Lk 23:38; Jn 19:19-22). This title was written in three languages: Aramaic, the vernacular of the country; Greek, the language of the Roman world; and Latin, the official language of the Roman administration. In crucifixion the victim was left to die of hunger and thirst. Death was hastened if necessary by breaking the legs with clubs, as was done to the criminals crucified with Jesus (Jn 19:32 ff). It was a surprise to the soldiers that Jesus expired so quickly, since death by crucifixion did not ensue until a few days had passed. It was a Jewish, not a Roman custom to give condemned criminals a narcotic drink before execution in order that their senses might be numbed (Mt 27:34; Mk 15:23). This was offered to Jesus, but He refused it. In Roman practice scourging* often preceded crucifixion, as it did in the case of Jesus. Under Roman law the offense for which the penalty of crucifixion was imposed on Jesus was that of treason and rebellion, as charged against Him by the Jews (Lk 23:2-5; Jn 19:12). Cruci-

fixion as a legal punishment was abolished by the first Christian emperor, Constantine (306-337).

The theological symbolism of the cross appears in the NT only in a saying of Jesus Himself and in the writings of Paul. Jesus said that those who follow Him must take up their cross; by this they would lose their life in order to gain it (Mt 10:38; 16:24; Mk 8:34; Lk 9:23; 14:27). This is not only an allusion to His own death, but also a statement that the following of Him demands a "denial of self" (Mk 8:34), an entire disregard of one's own life, personal welfare, and personal values, which must be renounced if one is to follow Jesus. Paul preached Christ and Him crucified, although it was revolting to the Jews and folly to the Gentiles (1 Co 1:23; 2:2). He did not wish to preach the gospel of the cross in polished language lest he should deprive the cross of its value (1 Co 1:17). Although the story of the cross is nonsense to those who perish for lack of its redemption, it is the power of God to those who are saved (1 Co 1:18). If Paul must preach circumcision then the scandal of the cross has been removed (Gal 5:11), by which Paul signifies that the cross, which is a scandal to the Jews, loses its redemptive value if circumcision is necessary. Paul's only boast is the cross of Jesus Christ (Gal 6:14). By the cross Jesus has united Jews and Gentiles (Eph 2:16). Some false apostles are enemies of the cross of Christ (Phl 3:18); this probably signifies those Jewish Christians who insisted on the efficacy of circumcision. The charge of crimes which God has against mankind Christ has annulled by nailing it to the cross, i.e., by Himself becoming the victim of these crimes (Coi 2:14). Those who belong to Christ have "crucified the flesh*" i.e., they have successfully mastered the sensual desires of their nature and accepted Christian renunciation. Through the cross of Jesus Christ Paul is crucified to the world and the world to him (Gal 6:14). This metaphor signifies a complete renunciation; the world is the cross upon which Paul's life is sacrificed. It is not clear what Paul means when he tells the Galatians that Christ crucified has been set forth before their very eyes, unless he refers to the vivid presentation of the crucifixion in his own catechesis (Gal 3:1); possibly this is an allusion to the representation of the redeeming death in the Eucharistic* sacrifice.

Crown. A headdress, part of the insignia of office of kings and other dignitaries; in Hb there are several words which distinguish this distinctive headdress. These words no



a) Egyptian nemes headdress. b) and c) Egyptian royal crown. d) Sumerian royal cap. e) Assyrian peaked royal cap. f) Double crown of Egypt.

doubt indicate different styles of crown which we cannot reconstruct. The *nēzer* (diadem) was worn both by the high priest (Ex 29:6; Lv 8:9) and by kings (2 K 1:12; 2 Ch 23:11; Pss 89:40; 132:18). The relation of the *nēzer* to the *šīs* worn by the high priest (Ex 28:36; Lv 8:9) and by kings (Is 28:1, 4) is obscure. The *šīs* was made of gold (Ex 28:36). The *nēzer* was ornamented with precious stones (2 S 12:30; Zc 9:16). This suggests that the *nēzer* and

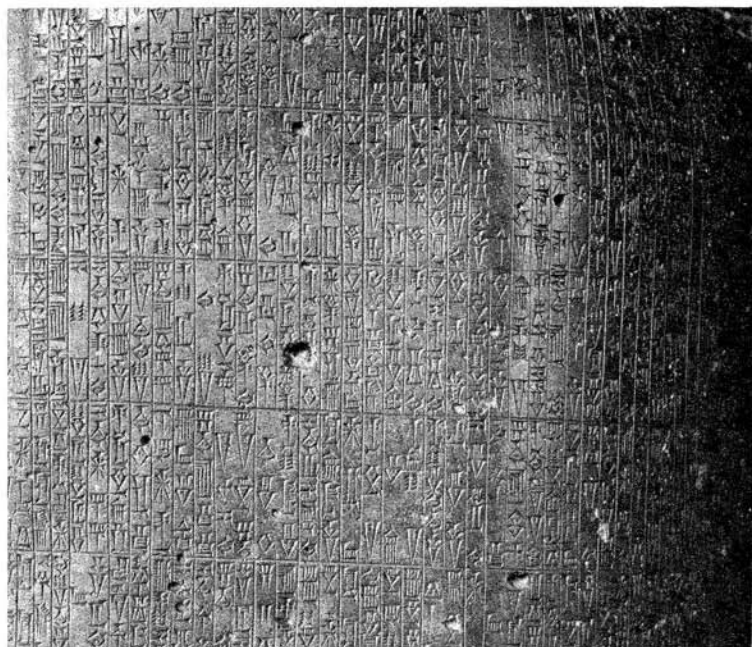
the *šīs* included a metal band worn around the head; the *nēzer* of the high priest was worn over the turban (Hb *mišnepet*). The *ʿtārāh* is mentioned with the *šīs* (Is 28:1, 3, 5). The *ʿtārāh* was worn by kings (Is 28:1 ff; Ezk 21:31; Zc 6:14) and by the image of Milcom*, god of the Ammonites (2 S 12:30). It was worn by the queen of Persia (Est 8:15) and also by bride and bridegroom in wedding festivities (SS 3:11; Ezk 16:12; 23:42).

The OT gives no evidence of the size and shape of crowns. Egyptian monarchs wore several types of ceremonial headdress. In all these crowns the distinctive sign of royalty seems to have been the uraeus, a small serpent's head which projected just above the forehead. The *nemes* headdress was a soft cloth cap which fitted closely over the hair and ended in two broad strips which hung over the shoulders on the breast. The double crown consisted of the white crown of Upper Egypt and the red crown of Lower Egypt, signifying the union of the two kingdoms which occurred in predynastic times. The white crown was a high cylindrical cap which tapered up to a knob. The red crown curved back from above the forehead to a point in the rear; a curled piece rose diagonally toward the front from the hollow of the cap. The blue crown, which seems to have been a part of the king's military insignia, was a high round helmet. The earliest representations of Sumerian kings show them with no headdress. From Gudea of Lagash to Hammurabi there appears a rounded low cap with a broad band which encircles the head. Assyrian kings wore a rounded high conical cap, truncated near the peak, at which rose a point; two strips hung down the back. This cap was sometimes adorned with precious stones and other materials. The gods in Mesopotamian art are distinguished by the horned crown. Mero-dach-baladan of Babylon is represented in a helmet-like cap with a streamer hanging down the back from the point of the helmet. Some Phoenician and Aramaean kings are represented wearing a rounded cap, not as high as the Assyrian crown, which tapers to a knob, resembling a helmet. The crown (Gk *stephanos*) mentioned in the NT is the laurel crown awarded to winners of athletic contests and in Gk cities to citizens for distinguished service; hence it appears almost always as a reward. Paul compares the imperishable crown of the Christian's reward to the perishable crown of the athlete (1 Co 9:25). The crown is mentioned as a reward (2 Tm 4:8; Js 1:12; 1 Pt 5:4; Apc 2:10; 3:11). The crown is worn by a number of persons in the visions of the Apc (Apc 4:4, 10; 6:2; 9:17; 12:1; 14:14).

Cubit. Cf WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Cummin (Hb *kammōn*, Gk *kyminon*), a plant cultivated for its seeds, which were used as spice or relish. The seeds were obtained by beating the plant with a rod (Is 28:25, 27). In Pharisaic interpretation of the law even this small plant was subject to tithe*, and Jesus cited it as an instance of Pharisaic pettifogging (Mt 23:23).

Cuneiform. Cuneiform was the most important and the most widely used system of writing in the ancient Near East to about 500 BC. The name cuneiform (Lt *cuneus*, "wedge"), given to this type of writing in 1712, is derived from the impression of the reed stylus, narrow at one end and broader at the other, on a moist clay tablet. These impressions are combined into figures. The shape and pointing of the stylus and the manner in which its impression was made are still not entirely clear. The clay tablet after writing was dried in the sun or baked artificially, and is one of the most durable records which man has invented. This system of writing was invented by the Sumerians* before 3000 BC. The oldest texts, which come from Uruk, are almost strictly pictographic; their meaning can be grasped, but the language in which they are written cannot be ascertained. The writing was developed by the Sumerians into ideographic writing in which each sign represents a single word. The number of signs required was large; the Uruk texts exhibit almost 900 such signs. Progress in the use of cuneiform came with successive simplifications. The Sumerians employed the word sign (e.g., KI, "earth") for the syllable also (e.g., KI). When the Akkadians* adopted the Sumerian script for their own language, they developed existing Sumerian signs and employed them to signify not words, but syllables, from which new words could be formed in Akkadian. This development led to the invention of other syllabic signs. This system also was complex, and included several hundred signs; but it was much more flexible than the ideographic writing. The Akkadians retained a number of ideographic signs from Sumerian; these signs, however, are read with the Akkadian word. Since Sumerian had no way of exhibiting endings for case and number, the Akkadians, in order to assist the reader, added a system of determinants for both nouns and verbs. The syllable which indicates the inflectional ending of a noun or verb was added as a phonetic complement. The determinative added (or prefixed) to an ideogram indicates the nature or the material of the noun: for instance, male, female, god, city, country, mountain, tree (wood), stone, bronze, +. The oldest Akkadian texts come from the period of Sargon of Akkad (about 2350 BC) and the 3rd dynasty of Ur (about 2000 BC). Akkadian writing was developed in two directions: the Babylonian script, which terminated with the neo-Babylonian script of the empire of Nebuchadnezzar*, retained the archaic and more complex signs. The Assyrians moved toward greater regularity in the shape of the signs. Even in older Babylonian writing the



Cuneiform writing, Code of Hammurabi.

picture indicated by the sign is no longer visible. Cuneiform writing was adopted by the Hittites*. The tablets found in Boghazkoi, the site of the ancient Hittite capital in Asia Minor, were written not only in Hittite, but also in Akkadian, which was the diplomatic language of the day, in proto-Hattic for liturgical texts, in Luwian, the language of a people within the Hittite kingdom of Asia Minor, and some Hurrian* tablets were also found. Cuneiform was also adopted by the Elamites*, but their language is as yet not well known. Akkadian written in cuneiform was employed in the Amarna* letters written by satellite kings of Canaan* to the Pharaoh of Egypt. This fact of itself illustrates the wide use both of Akkadian and of cuneiform writing, since the language was native to neither party of this correspondence. Cuneiform was also employed in Ugarit*. The Akkadian texts found there are far exceeded in number by the texts written in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script. The principle of the alphabet* was already known when the Ugaritic scribe invented 31 consonantal signs. The Persians adapted the cuneiform system into an alphabetic script of 36 signs. The trilingual inscriptions of Behistun of Darius* I and of the palace of Persepolis furnished the key to the deciphering of cuneiform script about 1850. The efforts of a number of scholars, especially Sir Henry Rawlinson, Edward Hincks, and Jules Oppert, revealed

that a number of royal personal names recurred in the three languages of the inscriptions, Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. The decipherment was proved to the satisfaction of scholars when four men, working independently, produced in 1857 translations of a Babylonian inscription which were substantially identical.

Cup. This vessel often appears in figurative speech in the Bible. "The cup of comfort" is offered to the mourner (Je 16:7), and the cup of thanksgiving is drunk to celebrate the reception of a favor (Ps 116:13). The head of the household filled the cups of the family and guests at table; hence the cup becomes a figure of one's lot or portion (Mt 20:22; 26:39). The cup of the wrath of Yahweh is an intoxicating drink which makes men reel and stagger (Ps 75:9; Lam 4:21; Is 51:17 ff; Je 25:15, 17, 28; 49:12; Ezk 23:31; Hab 2:16). Jeremiah's prophetic mission of predicting the downfall of the nations is described as the presentation of the cup of wrath for them to drink (Je 25:15 ff). The cup was also used for divination* (Gn 44:2; 5).

Curse. Orientals both ancient and modern employ curses with a freedom which is shocking to western ears. The curse, like the blessing* and the covenant*, is a solemn utterance which cannot be retracted or annulled. The spoken word is endowed with

a certain reality which enables it to pursue its object inexorably. The curse can be returned by Yahweh upon the head of him who utters it (Gn 12:3; 27:29); or it may be to some extent neutralized if the person who has uttered it follows it with a blessing upon the person who has been cursed (Jgs 17:2). The blessing of Yahweh renders the curse ineffective (Nm 23:8). In Mesopotamia solemn curses were uttered according to a ritual formula by sorcerers (cf MAGIC); such ritual curses were, of course, most effective, and it was for such a purpose that Balak*, king of Moab*, brought the seer Balaam* to curse Israel (Nm 22:5 ff). Curses are placed in the mouth of Yahweh Himself; He curses the serpent* of Eden* (Gn 3:14), the soil on man's account (Gn 3:17; 5:29), the enemies of Abraham (Gn 12:3), and promises not to curse the soil again because of man (Gn 8:21). A curse was uttered as a punishment for a crime. Noah* cursed Ham* (Gn 9:25); Jacob cursed Simeon* and Levi* (Gn 49:7). A prophet curses the Jews for dishonesty in sacrifice (Mal 1:14; 3:9), and the priests for faithlessness in their duty (Mal 2:2). David curses those who drive him into exile where he must worship foreign gods (1 S 26:19). Meroz* is cursed for failing to assist Barak* and Deborah* against the Canaanites (Jgs 5:23). Nehemiah* cursed those Jews who had married foreign wives (Ne 13:25). A curse was uttered to prevent something being done, as Joshua* cursed the man who should rebuild Jericho* (Jos 6:26). Hb popular tradition saw this curse fulfilled in the experience of Hiel* (1 K 16:34). Joshua cursed the Gibeonites for entering a covenant by deception and condemned them to forced labor (Jos 9:23). Saul cursed the man who should interrupt the battle against the Philistines* in order to take food (1 S 14:24 ff); and this curse had to be fulfilled, even though his son Jonathan* had violated it unwittingly. Only a popular tumult saved Jonathan's life. The solemn ritual curse is part of the covenant formula described in Dt 27:11 ff. To the curses uttered by the Levites* for violations of the covenant the people respond Amen. A similar solemn ritual curse is uttered in Dt 28:16 ff for breaches of the covenant (cf Je 11:3). To this may be compared the ritual imprecations of Hammurabi on those who violate or change his laws (ANET 178-180) and the imprecations in Egyptian and Hittite treaties (ANET 201, 205-206). Hb law prohibited the cursing of the deity (Ex 22:27; Lv 24:10 ff) and the cursing of one's father and mother (Ex 21:17; Lv 20:9). The penalty for these offenses was death. One should not curse a deaf person (Lv

19:14), for he could not hear the curse and take measures to prevent it. It was forbidden to curse a "prince of the people" (Ex 22:27); this prohibition was also extended to the king, the anointed of Yahweh. When Shimei* cursed David as the cause of the fall of the house of Saul, David would not permit him to be punished. Perhaps Yahweh had commanded Shimei to curse him and would be gracious to David for accepting it (2 S 16:5 ff). Ultimately Shimei was executed for his crime (1 K 2:8, 44). Both Job (3:1 ff) and Jeremiah (20:14 ff) cursed the day of their birth, and Jeremiah in addition cursed the messenger who brought the news. The curse of a prophet was especially effective (2 K 2:24). No doubt champions in single combat often exchanged curses before the actual fighting (1 S 17:43 ff). The primitive ceremony of "the waters of cursing" (Nm 5:12 ff) must have arisen from magical rites. A woman who is accused of adultery* is tested by a ritual which included the drinking of water into which a written curse has been washed. If she is guilty, the curse will take effect and all her pregnancies will end in miscarriage.

Cursing is rarely mentioned in the NT. Jesus told His disciples to return a blessing for a curse (Lk 6:28), echoed in Rm 12:14. Paul, however, curses those who preach another gospel (Gal 1:8) and any one who does not love the Lord (1 Co 16:22), as well as the high priest who ordered him to be struck while his case was being heard (AA 23:3). By an unusually vigorous figure of speech Paul says that Christ has removed the curse from man by becoming himself a curse (Gal 3:13).

It is against this pattern that such imprecatory passages as Ps 109 and Jeremiah's cursing of his adversaries (11:21; 18:19 ff) should be understood. Such utterances are not the casual explosion of a short temper, but a serious and almost ritual invocation that divine justice will be vindicated in the world through the prevention and suppression of malice. The curse thus uttered is also a means of protection for the individual himself against the malice of his enemies.

Cush. Cf ETHIOPIA

Cushan-Rishathaim (Hb *kūšan-riš'āṭayim*, etymology uncertain), according to Jgs 3:8 ff, a king of Aram Naharaim* who oppressed Israel until they were delivered by Othniel*. Most modern critics believe that Edom should be read here for Aram; the letters *d* and *r* are sometimes interchanged in the Hb text. The word Naharaim is taken as a gloss. Other scholars believe that the word Aram should be retained, but that the word Naharaim is a gloss.

Cuth, Cuthah (Hb *kûtah* [2 K 17:24], *kût* [2 K 17:30], Akkadian *kutu*, Eng often Kutha), a city of ancient Mesopotamia at the modern Tell Ibrahim, 19 mi NE of Babylon. Immigrants from Cuth were brought to Samaria to repopulate the cities of Israel conquered by Tiglath-pileser* III; they introduced the worship of the god Nergal.

Cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*), is probably meant by Hb *ʿaššûr*, mentioned with the cedar* as a tree of Lebanon* (Is 41:19; 60:13). The Italian cypress grows on Mt Lebanon; it has a tapering shape and grows to a maximum height of 90 ft. The timber is hard and close grained and of excellent quality for building. Some scholars believe that the cypress is designated by Hb *bʿrôš*, more commonly thought to be the juniper*.

Cyprus. An island of the eastern Mediterranean lying between the coasts of Cilicia* and Syria. Its greatest width is 60 mi and its greatest length 145 mi. Cyprus is probably to be identified with Elishah* and Kittim* of the OT. Cyprus was one of the communities to which the Romans addressed a letter warning against attacking the Jews (1 Mc 15:23). It belonged to the kingdom of the Ptolemies* 294–58 bc when it passed into the hands of the Romans. In antiquity it was famous for the cult of Aphrodite, who was often called the Cyprian. It was an early source of the production of copper*, which derives its name from the island. The gospel was carried to Cyprus by fugitive Jewish Christians who left Jerusalem in the persecution which followed the stoning of Stephen* (AA 11:19 f). Paul and Barnabas preached in Salamis and Paphos in Cyprus (AA 13:4 ff). It was visited again by Barnabas and Mark* after the separation of Paul and Barnabas (AA 15:39).

Cyrene (Gk *kyrênē*), the chief city of Cyrenaica in northern Africa (modern Libya). It was settled from Greece in the Mycenaean period and was the seat of a colony from the Gk city of Thera in 630 bc. In NT times it had a large Jewish popu-

lation (AA 2:10; 6:9). It was the home of Simon*, who carried the cross of Jesus to Calvary (Mt 27:32; Mk 15:21; Lk 23:26), and of Lucius*, one of the prophets and teachers of Antioch (AA 13:1).

Cyrus (Hb *kôreš*, Gk *kyros*, Persian *kurash*, "shepherd"), was the throne name of the kings of Elam*. Cyrus II the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, the son of Cambyses, became king of Anshan, a vassal kingdom of the Medes*, in 559 bc. In alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Cyrus rebelled against Astyages, king of the Medes in 556 and by the capture of Ecbatana* made Media a satrapy of the kingdom of Persia. His conquest of Croesus of Lydia in 547 made him master of Asia Minor, including the Gk cities of the Ionian coast. In 546 he began a campaign against Babylonia which ended with the surrender of Babylon in 539. Cyrus himself was killed in battle against the Massagetae in 529. In the OT Cyrus appears, probably about 545, as the hope of restoration of Judah and of Jerusalem. Second Is calls him the shepherd of Yahweh who will accomplish Yahweh's will (Is 44:28) and gives him the grandiose title of "the anointed of Yahweh," who grasps his right hand; this title was earlier reserved to kings and priests. It is Yahweh who grants Cyrus his conquests; He does this in order that Cyrus may restore His people Israel (Is 45:1 ff). This hope was fulfilled in 538 bc when Cyrus permitted the Jews residing in Babylon to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the city and its temple (2 Ch 36:22 f; Ezr 1:1–4). The text of the decree of Cyrus is quoted in Ezr 6:3–5. This text was doubted by many older scholars, but modern scholars are inclined to accept it as an authentic copy. Cyrus' treatment of the Jews is in harmony with the policy which he followed in Mesopotamia of restoring the images of captured gods to their original temples, which he often rebuilt. The Jews, who had no divine image, received instead the sacred vessels of the temple which had been looted by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezr 1:7).

D

Dagon (Hb *dāgôn*), a god worshiped by the Philistines* (Jgs 16:23; 1 S 5:2 ff). When the ark of the covenant, captured by the Philistines, was placed in the temple of Dagon, the image of Dagon was found thrown to the ground the following morning; it was set back in its place but was found the following morning broken in pieces. Hb popular tradition thus exhibited the power of the God of Israel even in captivity. The name appears also in two Hb cities named Beth-Dagon (Jos 15:41; 19:27). Dagon was not natively a god of the Philistines but a Semitic deity adopted by them after their invasion of Canaan. The cult of the Mesopotamian Dagan (= Dagon) is traced back to the 3rd dynasty of Ur in the 25th century BC. Hence it is unlikely that Dagan was an Amorite deity, although his cult was extremely popular among the Amorites, among whom Dagan is often a component of personal names. It was also popular among the Assyrians. His character is not clearly known; he is often described as a storm god in terms which imitate the titles of Enlil. The Hb word *dāgān*, "grain," is probably derived from the name of the god. In the opinion of many scholars Dagan was originally a vegetation deity, but this character is not clear in the texts which allude to him. His cult spread to the W and is found not only among the Philistines but also at Ugarit*. Here he is mentioned in a list of gods and in a list of offerings, in which he receives a head of small cattle. A stele also was erected to Dagan by a grateful citizen of Ugarit. There was a temple of Dagan at Ugarit. Aleyan Baal* is called the son of Dagan in a few passages of the Baal epic. The temple of Dagon at Ashdod* was destroyed in Maccabean times by Jonathan (1 Mc 10:84).

Daleth. The 4th letter of the Hb alphabet, with the value of *d*.

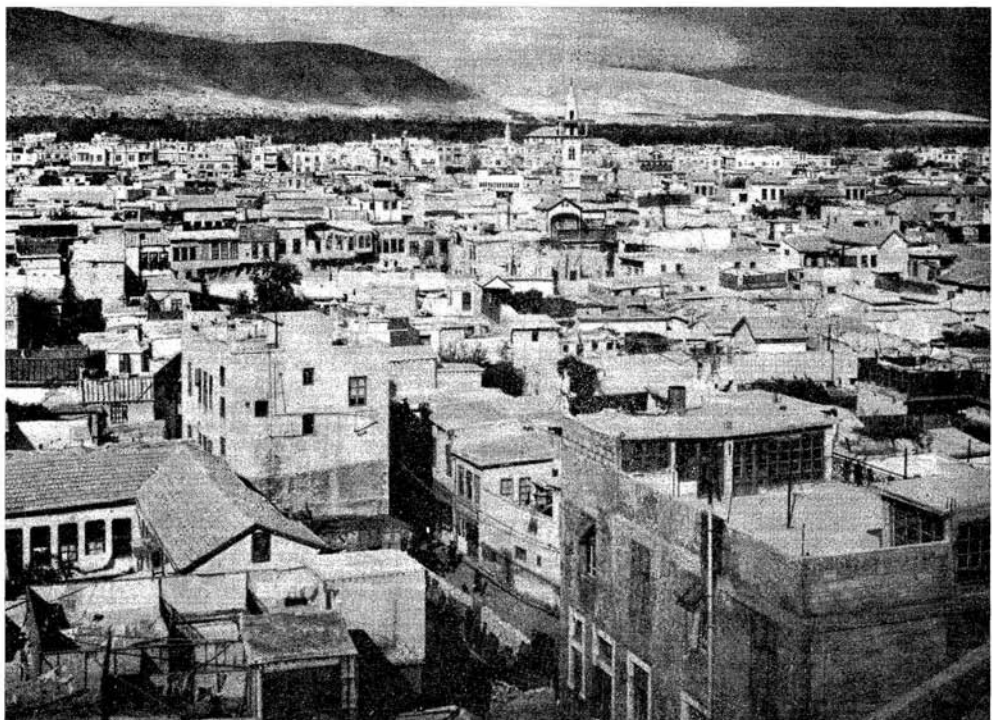
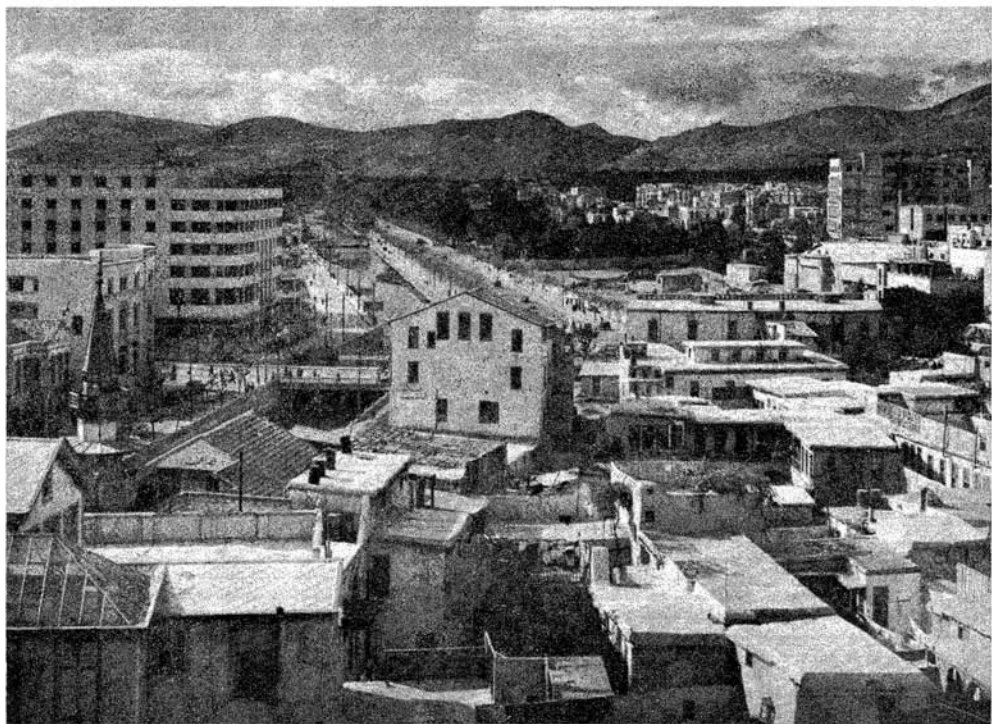
Dalmanutha (Gk *dalmanūtha*, etymology uncertain), a city or region near the Sea of Galilee to which Jesus withdrew after the feeding of the four thousand (Mk 8:10). The place is otherwise unknown. The parallel passage in Mt 15:39 reads Magadan, which is also read in some MSS of Mk. Many modern critics believe that the name is a corruption from Magdala*.

Dalmatia. In AD 10 the ancient territory of

Illyria, on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, was established as two Roman provinces, Dalmatia in the N and Pannonia in the S. It is mentioned in the NT as a place to which Titus* had gone from Rome (2 Tim 4:10).

Damaris. A woman of Athens converted by the preaching of Paul (AA 17:34). The name occurs nowhere else in Gk literature.

Damascus (Hb *dammasek* or *darmesek*, meaning uncertain). The modern Syrian city of Damascus (pop 350,000) occupies the site of the royal capital of the opulent and powerful Aramaean* kingdom of the 8th–6th centuries BC. A large city is made possible on the site of Damascus by the river Barada (biblical Abanah*) which rises in the snows of the Anti-Lebanon range and gives the city an abundant water supply before it exhausts itself in the marshes of the Syrian desert. Damascus is thus a very large oasis, a gateway to the desert and a natural point of exchange between the desert and the area N and S of Damascus, as well as Lebanon, ancient Phoenicia*, over the mountains to the west. It is an ancient city, but the date of its foundation is unknown and its early history is obscure; continuous occupation of the site has destroyed or covered all archaeological evidence of pre-Christian times. Damascus under the name of Apum is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th century BC), and in the Mari* texts. Damascus was listed by Thutmose III (1502–1448) among the Asiatic cities subject to Egypt. The city is mentioned twice in the Amarna* tablets as located in the land of Ube and entirely submissive to the Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Later Rib-addi of Byblos* reports that Damascus has fallen into the hands of Aziru, son of Abdi-Ashirta. The history of the Aramaean kingdom of Damascus is known only from biblical and Assyrian records. Beginning with Shalmaneser III (858–824) Damascus appears frequently in Assyrian records. In the earlier records the name Aram is more frequently used, Damascus in the later. Shalmaneser III mentions victories over Damascus in four different campaigns, two against Ben-hadad* and two against Hazael*. The first of these was the battle of Karkar (853), in which Ben-hadad and Ahab* of Israel* were allied with the Aramaean states of Syria. None of these victories can have been as complete as Shalmaneser claimed. Adad-nirari III



Damascus with the Anti-Lebanon in the background.

(809–783) claimed a victory over Mari (otherwise unknown) of Damascus and tribute paid by him. Tiglath-pileser* III (745–727) received tribute from Rasunnu, the biblical Rezin*, of Aram and claims a victory over the country of Aram which is probably well in accord with the facts; but details are lacking. Except for a revolt of Damascus at the beginning of the reign of Sargon* (721–705) Damascus appears no more in Assyrian records except in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal (668–626) as an Assyrian base. The name of its governor in the Assyrian eponym list by which the years were identified shows that it was governed directly by a Assyrian officer and not by a satellite king.

The occurrence of Damascus in Gn 15:2 is probably due to a textual corruption (cf ELIEZER). The Aramaean kingdom was established by the revolt of Rezon* against Israelite rule (1 K 11:23–25). Damascus with other Aramaean territory had been subject to Israel since the conquests of David* (cf ZOBABH). On the relations of Damascus and Israel cf AHAB; AHAB; BEN-HADAD; HAZAEL; JEHOASH; PEKAH; REZIN. Only the OT records the fall of Damascus to Tiglath-pileser III in 732 (2 K 16:9). Amos uttered an oracle threatening Damascus with destruction because of the merciless campaign conducted against Gilead* (1:3–5). The destruction of the Aramaean kingdom is mentioned in Is 17:1ff. The oracle against Damascus in Je 49:23–27 with an allusion to Am 1:3–5 is very probably an earlier fragment inserted in Je, since in the time of Jeremiah Damascus was politically inactive. The city is mentioned in Ezk 27:18 as a producer of wine of Helbon and wool. The land of Damascus was to be the N frontier of the ideal Israel described in Ezk 47:15–17. In Zc 9:1 Damascus and its territory are reckoned as belonging to Yahweh; on the date of this allusion cf ZECHARIAH. Damascus remained politically inactive after 732 BC. When the Assyrian empire collapsed in 612 BC, Damascus passed under the neo-Babylonian empire and then under the Persians. It fell to Alexander* in 333 and became a part of the Seleucid* kingdom. When the Seleucid kingdom disintegrated, Damascus became subject to the Nabatean* kingdom in 85 BC. Pompey allowed the Nabateans to retain control of Damascus when he organized the Roman province of Syria in 64 BC. It was one of the cities of the Decapolis*. It passed under direct Roman rule in the last half of the first century AD, probably in the reign of Nero (AD 54–68).

The city was a thriving center of commerce and manufacture and had a large Jewish colony. Christianity appeared in

Damascus only a few years after the death of Jesus; the Christians were numerous enough for Paul* to obtain authorization from the high priest to arrest any Christians he might find there. The "street called straight," on which the house of Judas* was situated (AA 9:11), followed the course of the modern Suk Midhat Pasha, running E and W. It was a colonnaded avenue of the Roman city. At the eastern end of the street at Bab Sharqi is a gate of Roman construction.

On the "Damascus Document" cf QUMRAN.

Dan (Hb *dān*, meaning uncertain). 1. The son of Jacob* and Bilhah*, the slave of Rachel* (Gn 30:6). Here the name is explained by a play on the word *din*, "to judge," i.e., to give a favorable verdict. The same popular etymology is found in the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49:16).

2. One of the 12 tribes of Israel. In the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49:16 f) Dan is praised for his fighting qualities; he is a serpent by the road, a viper by the path, which bites the horse's hoof and unseats its rider. The fighting qualities of the tribe are also praised in the blessing of Moses (Dt 33:22); Dan is a lion's whelp that leaps from Bashan*. The territory of Dan, described in Jos 19:40 ff, included the cities in the neighborhood of Zorah* and Eshtaol* in the Shephelah*. This list with slight variations appears among the cities of Judah (Jos 15:33–36); the Judah list comes from the monarchy after the Philistines had been subdued, and scholars attribute it to the administrative documents of Hezekiah* or Josiah*. The Amorites* who inhabited the coastal strip would not permit the Danites to expand toward the coast (Jgs 1:34). After the Philistine conquest the pressure became even greater and the tribe of Dan was forced to migrate. Their scouts discovered a Sidonian city at the northern extremity of Hb territory, Laish (Leshem in Jgs 19:47), which the Danites sacked and settled (Jgs 18:7, 27 ff). The number of the fighting men of the tribe in this expedition is given as 600. The name Mahaneh-Dan, "camp of Dan," for Kirjath-jearim* in Judah, was derived in popular tradition from this march (Jgs 18:12). The tribe of Dan is mentioned among those which failed to give aid to Barak* and Deborah* (Jgs 5:17); the reference to ships here is extremely obscure.

In their migration from their original settlement the Danites took with them a Levite* who was in the service of a man of Ephraim* named Micah*, who had installed a small shrine and a divine image in his house (Jgs 17:4 ff; 18:15 ff). This Levite was the first to serve at the sanctuary of Dan, which after-

ward with Bethel* became one of the two national sanctuaries of Israel* instituted by Jeroboam I after the schism of the kingdom (1 K 12:29 ff). This sanctuary of Dan is mentioned with contempt by Amos (8:14). In spite of the debased cult the god worshiped at Dan was Yahweh. The name of the city appears frequently as the northern limit of Israel, especially in the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba." It is used anachronistically in Gn 14:14. The tribe produced the Israelite hero Samson*.

Dance. The dance is a part not only of profane celebrations but also of sacred functions with most peoples. In the OT the dance appeared in both. It was a part of the celebration of Yahweh's victory over Egypt (Ex 15:20), the procession in which David brought the ark* into Jerusalem (2 S 6:5 ff), the celebration of the golden calf (Ex 32:19; also Pss 150:4; 149:3). The dance also celebrated a victory in battle or the return of a hero (Jgs 11:34; 1 S 18:6). The dance was a part of the vintage festival (Jgs 21:21; Je 31:4), and Jeremiah sees maidens dancing in the joy of the messianic Israel (Je 31:31). The dances mentioned in the OT seem to be performed by groups, sometimes mixed but more frequently women alone, rather than by individuals. The dance was accompanied by music* and the dancers often

song and dance. Egyptian tomb paintings show that Egyptians were lovers of the dance and usually had professional dancers perform at festivals (ANEP 208, 209, 210, 211, 216). Jesus speaks of children singing and dancing in the streets (Mt 11:17 ff; Lk 7:32). The dance of the daughter of Herodias* before the guests at the dinner in honor of Herod Antipas' birthday (Mt 14:6; Mk 6:22) followed Gk, not Hb custom, and would have been regarded as in extremely bad taste by the Jews. This dance was the occasion of the execution of John the Baptist*.

Daniel (Hb *dānīyy'el*, "El judges"). 1. Daniel is represented in Dn 1:3 ff as a young Judahite of noble family who is taken into the household of Nebuchadnezzar* and instructed in the wisdom of the Chaldeans*. He remained in Babylon until the third year of Cyrus (537 BC). The name is borne by two others in the OT. The Daniel alluded to as a sage and a righteous man of early times (Ezk 14:14, 20; 28:3), associated with Noah* and Job*, also legendary figures of antiquity, is not to be identified with the Daniel of the book. The reference to antiquity and the slightly different spelling of the name in Ezk (*dān'el* instead of *dānīyy'el*) suggest that the Daniel mentioned by Ezk is the Daniel of the Ugaritic* literature, the father of Aqhat, a wise and righteous man.

2. **The Book of Daniel.** 1. *Authorship and Date.* The origin of the book in the neo-Babylonian period (626–539 BC), suggested to some extent by the book itself and maintained through most of the history of exegesis, is open to a number of serious objections drawn from the book and from elsewhere in the OT. The author was not familiar with the history of the neo-Babylonian period, but he is very familiar with the history of the Seleucid* and Ptolemaic* kingdoms just before the outbreak of the Maccabean wars. This is most easily explained on the assumption that he depended for his knowledge of the neo-Babylonian period on vague memories which had been handed down by oral tradition. Thus he makes Belshazzar* the son of Nebuchadnezzar, although Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus and was never king of Babylon. The author shows no knowledge of any other Babylonian rulers. The successor of Belshazzar and the first Persian king is called Darius* the Mede, a figure otherwise unknown to history; Babylonian records begin the reign of Cyrus with the end of the reign of Nabonidus. An examination of the vision of Dn 11 shows that the information of the author is exact up to a point between 167, the year in which Antiochus Epiphanes departed on an expedition of Egypt, and 164, the year of



Egyptian dancers.

carried tambourines (Ex 15:20). The dance which David performed before the ark is described by a word which does not occur elsewhere; it must have been unusually vigorous, to judge by the criticism of Michal* (2 S 6:14, 16, 20). The conduct of Saul with the prophets (1 S 10:10 ff; 19:20 ff) suggests that the companies called sons of the prophets conducted a cultic worship of

his death, which had not yet occurred when the passage was written. Modern critics generally agree that the composition of the book in its present form is to be placed within these few years. The book is quoted in 1 Mc 2:59-60; the composition of 1 Mc is to be placed near 100 bc. Daniel is not mentioned in the praise of the fathers of Ben Sira (BS 44:1 ff), written about 180 bc, and this is most easily explained by the assumption that the book had not yet been written. In the Hb Bible Dn appears not with the prophetic books but in the third division of the Bible, the Writings; since this division of the Hb Bible most probably represents three different stages of acceptance of the sacred book (cf CANON), it is again a legitimate assumption that Dn did not exist when the prophetic books were accepted into the canon.

II. *Language.* The language of Dn creates a peculiar difficulty. 1:1-2:3 + 8:1-12:13 are written in Hb; 2:4-7:28 are written in Aramaic; 13-14 are preserved in Gk, and ch 13 at least was probably written in that language. There is no generally accepted explanation of both Hb and Aramaic in the book. Many scholars see in this a merely mechanical difference; it is supposed that the Hb original of the Aramaic portion was lost and replaced by an Aramaic translation. A more complicated theory proposed by H. H. Rowley sees in the Aramaic section a collection of preexisting stories of Daniel which the author of the book in its present form incorporated with his own compositions, chs 8-12. The introduction, originally in Aramaic, was translated into Hb by this author, who lived in Maccabean times, in order to unify the book more closely. The Aramaic section includes some Gk words for musical instruments (cf MUSIC), which would place this part of the book in the Gk period and not in the neo-Babylonian period.

III. *Purpose and Literary Form.* An examination of the material of the book (cf below) indicates that the purpose of its composition was to furnish consolation and encouragement for the Jews during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is extremely probable that the author of the book did not invent the character of Daniel entirely but took a figure existing in popular tradition; and some of the book, especially the first part, may contain folklore tales of Daniel. For the author of the book and for his readers it was of little importance whether Daniel was a historical figure or not, since any historical character he may have had has been lost both in oral tradition and in the composition of the book. The character of Daniel as he is presented in Dn is truly fictional. The book is the first

OT specimen of apocalyptic* literature, which is foreshadowed in some parts of Is and Ezk.

IV. *Outline of the book.* The book falls into three major divisions: 1-6, the adventures of Daniel; 7-12, the visions of Daniel; 13-14 additional adventures of Daniel. The last two chapters are deuterocanonical, i.e., they are not preserved in Hb and are not found in the Bible of Jews and Protestants.

First part, the adventures of Daniel.

1:1-21: the election of Daniel and his companions, Hananiah*, Mishael*, and Azariah* (Shadrach*, Meshach*, and Abednego*) for service in the king's household. Their refusal to eat unclean foods results in their looking fatter and fairer than their associates who eat the foods prepared by the king's kitchen. This encouraged the Jews of Maccabean times, who were forbidden by the decrees of Antiochus to observe the laws of cleanliness (cf CLEAN).

2:1-49: the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar in a dream saw a statue with a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of bronze, legs of iron, and feet of iron mixed with clay. A stone hewn from a mountain by no human hands struck this statue and broke it into pieces. The wise men of Babylon could not interpret the dream; Daniel, however, interpreted it as the dream of four kingdoms, symbolized by the various parts of the statue. Of these the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar was the first, symbolized by the golden head. The stone was the messianic kingdom of God, erected without human power, which would destroy the kingdoms of the world. The other kingdoms are not explained by Daniel, but interpreters commonly see in the silver the kingdom of the Medes, in the bronze the Persian empire, in the iron the kingdom of Alexander*, and in the iron and clay the successor kingdoms of the Seleucid* and Ptolemaic* dynasties.

3:1-30 (Hb), 1-100 (Gk): Nebuchadnezzar made a great statue of gold and ordered all his subjects to adore it when musical instruments were played as a signal. The three companions of Daniel, who does not appear in this story, refused to obey and were cast into a furnace. They were untouched by the flame; and the king, convinced by this miracle, ordered those who had charged them with the crime to be cast into the furnace. The episode encourages the Jews of Maccabean times not to worship the gods of the Greeks, and assures them that God will preserve them. "The Song of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace" (3:24-90) is preserved only in Gk and is not found in Hb and Protestant Bibles.

4:1-34: the madness of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar dreamed of a tree which was cut down. Its stump was bound with iron, but after seven years it grew once more. Daniel interpreted this dream as a revelation that Nebuchadnezzar would suffer for seven years from the form of insanity in which he would be like a wild beast (known today as boanthropy). After Nebuchadnezzar lived like an ox for seven years, he was restored to sanity and confessed that the God of Daniel was the true God. This madness of Nebuchadnezzar is not attested by profane historians, but scholars believe it is not impossible. The narrative shows that God can humble even the greatest power of the earth, which cannot recover from its fall unless it confesses His divinity. A fragment of a prayer of Nabonidus discovered at Qumran* tells of a very similar episode and suggests that Dn drew on this source, altering the name from the unknown Nabonidus to the famous Nebuchadnezzar.

5:1-30: the feast of Belshazzar. Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon in Dn, had a great dinner at which he and his guests profaned the sacred vessels of the temple. A hand appeared and wrote three words on the wall, which Daniel interpreted as "Mene, Tekel, Peres" (Aramaic *m'nē t'kēl uparsin*, "measured, weighed, and divided") and applied to the kingdom of Belshazzar. That night the kingdom was taken by the Persians and Belshazzar was killed. The story shows that God predicts the downfall of powers hostile to His people.

6:1-29: Daniel in the lions' den. Under Darius the Mede Daniel violated a law of the Medes and Persians prohibiting prayer to any one except the king for 30 days, and was thrown into a den of lions. They did not harm him, and Darius, recognizing the miracle, had his accusers thrown into the lions' den. This story also shows that God protects His faithful in times of persecution like those of Antiochus Epiphanes, when prayer to Yahweh was forbidden.

Second part, the visions of Daniel.

7:1-28: the four beasts and the son of man. Daniel saw four beasts coming from the sea. These beasts signify the Babylonian empire, the kingdom of the Medes, the Persian empire, and the empire of Alexander. The ten horns of the fourth beast signify ten kings of the Seleucid dynasty and the little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes. The son of man* in Dn probably does not signify the Messiah* as an individual person but rather the saints of God, the people of Israel as a whole, which shall descend from heaven (a symbol of its election) and take the dominion from the kingdoms of the world.

8:1-27: the vision of the ram and the

goat. This vision is explained by the angel Gabriel*. The ram with the two horns signifies the kingdom of the Medes and the Persians. The goat is the kingdom of the Greeks and the great horn is Alexander. The four others are the four successor kingdoms of Alexander, and the last horn is the Seleucid dynasty, most probably Antiochus Epiphanes himself. In this vision the time during which the sanctuary will be profaned is set at 2300 days. This may be compared with the period of a year, two years, and a half a year in 7:25. Probably these differences have no mystical significance, but are revisions to accord with the progress of the Maccabean revolt.

9:1-27: the prophecy of the 70 weeks. This vision arises from Daniel's wonder about the 70 years of Babylonian dominion predicted by Jeremiah* (25:12). In answer Daniel learns from the angel Gabriel that the 70 years signify 70 weeks of years (490 years) and that Daniel himself is now in the last and most crucial of the weeks; the time of the end is near. The prophecy of Jeremiah signified 70 years in the sense of an indefinite time, the life of a single person; no one then living would survive to see the end of the Babylonian dominion. Implicit is the difficulty real to the writer, but not in the time of Daniel, that the Babylonian empire was succeeded by others. Seventy weeks of 7 years signify an even longer indefinite time and not an exact period; by no calculation can the term 490 years from the beginning of the Babylonian dominion (605 bc) be brought into agreement either with the Maccabean or with the NT period. In 7:25, however, the beginning of the 70 weeks is reckoned from the decree permitting the rebuilding of Jerusalem (537 bc), which ignores the 70 years indicated in Je. This would place the end of the period at 47 bc, a date of no significance. The author of the book had no information on the number of years which had elapsed between the fall of Jerusalem and his own time.

10:1-11:45: the conflict of kingdoms. After a long introduction which includes a debate between the angels who preside over the destinies of nations, the history of the period from Alexander's conquest of Persia (331 bc) to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes prior to his death (163 bc) is summed up in some detail (11:2-45). With a knowledge of the history of the period it is easy to identify the characters and events of the passage, which are not named by the author. This is a prophecy *ex eventu* and is a type which appears nowhere else in the OT; it is a technique of apocalyptic literature to relate contemporary events in the form of a

revelation made to some hero of remote antiquity.

12:1-13: the vision of the end. At the end, after a period of great troubles, the dead will rise, some to life and some to everlasting reproach. This is the earliest expression of belief in the resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked. The time of the end appears to be near, but when Daniel asks when the end shall be he hears that the book is sealed; this cannot be told him. The time of the desecration of the holy place is once more set at 1290 days. The man is blessed who awaits the end after 1335 days; what the author expected at the end of this period cannot be determined.

Third part, additional adventures of Daniel.

13:1-64: the story of Susanna*. A Jewish woman of Babylon, named Susanna, accused of adultery by two lecherous elders, was delivered by Daniel, who trapped the elders in contradictory evidence. The dialogue with the elders contains puns of the Gk names of two trees (13:54-55, 58-59). The story is an example of the wisdom of Daniel.

14:1-42: Bel and the dragon. Under Cyrus Daniel proves that the food and drink set before the image of Bel is eaten secretly by his priests. A serpent worshiped at Babylon was killed by Daniel. Daniel was cast into the lions' den (a doublet of 6) where he was fed by the prophet Habakkuk, who was carried from Palestine by an angel. Daniel's escape from the lions led Cyrus to confess that the God of Israel is the true God.

Modern readers of the Bible find the type of comfort and encouragement offered by such apocalyptic writings unsympathetic. It is difficult for them to understand that the author intends to affirm the attributes of God which are exhibited in his stories and visions. Neither to him nor to his readers did it make much difference whether the events related were historical or not; for God truly possesses these attributes and does exhibit them. If they are faithful to His law and confident in His power, they can be assured that He will exhibit His power to deliver them from danger or from falling into sin under the threat of this danger. This is the sentiment uttered in the magnificent response of the three companions of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar (3:16-18).

Daniel in the NT. Dn is quoted only once in the NT; the abomination of desolation* is mentioned in the apocalyptic discourse of Jesus (Mt 24:15; Mk 13:14). The resurrection of the dead is described in Mt 25:46 in terms taken from Dn 12:2. Most important is the phrase son of man* (Dn 7:13).

Daphne (Gk *daphnē*), a suburb of Antioch* which contained a grove and temples of Apollo and Artemis with rights of sanctuary. The suburb was named after the nymph of mythology loved by Apollo. Here the high priest Onias* took refuge after he had rebuked Menelaus* for bribing Andronicus* with the sacred vessels of the temple. He was treacherously persuaded to leave the sanctuary by Menelaus and was then executed by Andronicus (2 Mc 4:33).

Daric. Cf MONEY.

Darius (Hb *dār'yāweš*, from Persian *dar-jawāush*, meaning uncertain), the name of three Persian kings: Darius I Hystaspis (522-485 bc); Darius II Nothos (424-404 bc); Darius III Codomannus (336-330 bc). Darius I at his accession had to suppress a widespread revolt led by the usurper Gautama, who pretended to be Smerdis, the son of Cambyses. Darius organized the Persian empire into 20 satrapies and was the first monarch to put his image on gold coins (daric). The latter part of his reign was devoted to the campaigns to subdue Greece. He succeeded in suppressing the revolt of the Ionian cities but failed in his campaign against Athens. His fleet was wrecked by a storm off Mount Athos in 492 and his armies, after conquering Thessaly and winning the victory of Thermopylae, were defeated by the Athenians and their allies at Marathon (490).

The discourses of Haggai are dated in the 2nd year of Darius I (Hg 1:1, 15; 2:10), and the discourses of Zechariah are dated in the 2nd and 4th years of Darius (Zc 1:1, 7; 7:1). The building of the temple, which had been permitted by Cyrus*, was interrupted by the machinations of the neighbors of the Jews until the 2nd year of Darius I (Ezr 4:24). A letter from Tattenai*, governor of the province "beyond the river," laid the complaint before the king that the Jews were rebuilding the city and the temple and asked that the permission they claimed be verified. The obstruction was probably connected with the troubles at the beginning of the reign of Darius. A copy of the decree of Cyrus permitting the rebuilding of the temple was found in the records at Ecbatana*; consequently, Darius ordered that the temple be completed without any further hindrance (Ezr 5:1 ff). The temple was completed in the 6th year of Darius I (Ezr 6:15). Darius I is the king mentioned in Ne 12:22.

According to Dn Darius the Mede was the first Persian king of Babylon, the successor of Belshazzar* (Dn 6:1 ff). He cast Daniel into the lions' den (Dn 6:6 ff).

The vision of Dn 9:1 ff is dated in the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus* (Xerxes), the Mede; obviously the same person is intended. The first year of Darius in Dn 11:1 is regarded by modern critics as a gloss. To this Darius is attributed the organization of the empire in satrapies (Dn 6:2 ff), and Daniel was one of the three presidents of the satraps; this organization was the work of Darius I Hystaspis, the successor of Cambyses. Some scholars have attempted to identify Darius the Mede with known historical characters such as Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, or Cyaxares II, but none of these hypotheses have any probability. The author had very little information about the neo-Babylonian period (cf DANIEL), and it is most probable that the name Darius was known to him and that he incorporated Darius into his writing; but he had no idea of the date at which Darius reigned, nor even of the order in which the Persian kings followed each other.

Darkness. The metaphorical use of darkness is common in both OT and NT.

1. *OT.* Darkness was the element of chaos; the primeval abyss lay under darkness, and God's first creative act was to dispel darkness by the intrusion of light (Gn 1:2 ff; cf CREATION). In Gn 1:2 the mythological character of darkness is somewhat suppressed, for God calls the darkness night and ordains the regular succession of day and night. So also God stores darkness in a chamber that He may bring it out in due time (Jb 38:19; cf also Ps 104:20). But since darkness is the element of chaos, it is also the element of evil and disorder, and it retains in its metaphorical usage some of its mythological symbolism. Darkness is disaster (Is 5:30). In the world catastrophe the sun itself is darkened in its rising (Is 13:10). Darkness is one of the plagues with which Yahweh smites Egypt (Ex 10:22). The supreme disaster is darkness at noon (Am 8:9). The day of Yahweh, which in popular belief was the day of the great deliverance of Israel, would be darkness and not light (Am 5:18 ff; Zp 1:15 ff). Darkness is ready at hand for the wicked (Jb 15:23). The kingdom of Judah is like a traveler who is overtaken by darkness in the mountains; he stumbles and perishes (Je 13:16). Darkness is defeat, captivity, oppression (Is 9:1; 42:7; 47:5). Darkness is the element of evil, in which the wicked does his work (Jb 24:16; Ezk 8:12). Darkness is the element of death, the grave, and the underworld (Jb 10:21 f; 17:13). Light* is the element of deity, and it is an exception when Yahweh is said to set His dwelling in darkness (2 S 22:12; 1 K 8:12;

Ps 18:12). Here we have an allusion to the clouds* of the storm theophany*; Yahweh must veil His light when He appears, for no man can look upon it and live. The OT imagery of darkness is also found in the Qumran document called "The War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness."

2. *NT.* The same metaphors of darkness are used in the NT. The eye which is not simple in its intentions darkens the whole soul within (Mt 6:23). Sinners shall be cast out into the darkness (Mt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30). The catastrophic darkness of the eschatological judgment is mentioned in Mt 24:29; Mk 13:24. The antithesis of light and darkness is especially prominent in Jn. Darkness is the sinful world into which the light of the Incarnate Word shines, but the darkness does not receive the light (Jn 1:5). He who follows Jesus does not walk in darkness (Jn 8:12; also Jn 12:46). God is light and there is no darkness in Him (1 Jn 1:5). Men love darkness more than the light (Jn 3:19). In Paul darkness is wickedness (Rm 13:12; 2 Co 6:14). Christians who were once darkness are now light in the Lord (Eph 5:8), and should have no share in the works of darkness (Eph 5:11). The world is darkness (Eph 6:12). Christ has saved us from the power of darkness (Col 1:13). Darkness is reserved for the wicked (2 Pt 2:17).

Date, date palm. The date palm, Hb *tāmār*, does not grow in the highlands of Palestine and is found only in the subtropical regions S of Gaza and in the Jordan valley. The tree grows to a height of 50–60 ft and is crowned by a plume of branches at the summit. The trees are mentioned as growing at the oasis of Elim (Ex 15:27; Nm 33:9) and are enumerated among the trees of the country (Jl 1:12). Palm branches were carried in procession at the feast of Tabernacles* (Lv 23:40; Ne 8:15) and in triumphal processions (1 Mc 13:51; Apc 7:9). It is as signs of triumph that they were carried in the procession which accompanied Jesus into Jerusalem (Jn 12:13). Figures of palm trees appeared in the decorations of the temple (1 K 6:29, 32, 35; 7:36; 2 Ch 3:5; Ezk 40:16–41:26). Palm branches with a gold crown were a token of peace and friendship between peoples (1 Mc 13:37; 2 Mc 14:4). The righteous in his prosperity is compared to a palm tree (Ps 92:13), and the beloved is compared to a palm tree in an erotic image (SS 7:8 f).

Dathan (Hb *dātān*, meaning unknown), the son of Eliab of the tribe of Reuben, who with his brother Abiram and Korah the Levite rebelled against the leadership of

Moses (Nm 16:1 ff). The dialogue of Moses and Korah (Nm 16:3–11) and the dialogue of Moses with Dathan and Abiram (Nm 16:12–16) are independent of each other; so also are the accounts of the punishments of the party of Dathan and Abiram (Nm 16:27b–32) and of the party of Korah (Nm 16:35), except for the introduction of Korah in Nm 16:24, 27, 32. Hence many scholars believe that the chapter has fused two accounts of two distinct rebellions. The rebellion of Korah and his party was a rebellion of the Levites against the exclusive priesthood* of the family of Aaron* (Nm 16:3); the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram was a rebellion against the leadership of Moses and a refusal to follow him into the land of Canaan (Nm 16:13–14). The punishment of the two parties differs; the party of Dathan and Abiram was swallowed up in an earthquake (Nm 16:31–32), the party of Korah was struck by lightning (Nm 16:35). Dathan and Abiram are mentioned in a genealogy of Nm 26:9. The rebellion of Dathan and Abiram (without any mention of Korah) is alluded to in Dt 11:6; Ps 106:17. All three names occur in the allusion of BS 45:18.

David (Hb *dāwīd*, formerly explained as *dōd* or *dōdō*, “beloved,” possibly a divine title; a connection with Hurrian* *dawidum*, “commander-in-chief,” found in the Mari* correspondence is improbable). Some suggest that *dāwīd* was the title of this Israelite ruler and that his personal name was Elhanan* (2 S 21:20). David was the son of Jesse* of Bethlehem* and the successor of Saul* as king of Israel*. The genealogy in Rt 4:18 ff connects Jesse with Perez* of Judah* through Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon, Salmon, Boaz, and Obed. Some have suggested that this genealogy is artificial, formed by adoption of the clan into the tribe of Judah, and that the family of David was of non-Israelite origin. David first appears in 1 S 16:1–13; although the youngest of eight sons of Jesse he is anointed king by Samuel as the choice of Yahweh Himself. This story authenticated the charismatic title of David to rule; like Saul and the judges* he was divinely elected. In the following episodes David is introduced to Saul as a musician (1 S 16:14 ff) and as the youthful hero who slays Goliath with a sling and a stone (1 S 17:1 ff). These two anecdotes are independent of each other, since each supposes that David is introduced to Saul for the first time. The inconcinnity of chs 16 and 17 has been removed in Codex B (Vaticanus) of the LXX, which omits 17:12–31. As a result of his musical skill David becomes Saul’s squire; as the slayer of Goliath

he becomes a popular military hero who arouses Saul’s envy. In 1 S 18–20 are related the stories of David at the court of Saul. Saul’s envy is apparent in his sudden attempt to murder David (1 S 18:10 ff and 19:9 ff, variant accounts of the same episode). David was given Michal, the daughter of Saul, in marriage. Merab, the elder daughter, had been promised, but the promise was not honored by Saul. Michal was granted as the prize of a feat of valor against the Philistines which, Saul expected, would cost David his life (1 S 18:25 ff); but David appears throughout the story as the man of destiny. David was the close friend of Jonathan*, Saul’s son and presumed successor, who saved David from his father’s anger (1 S 19:1 ff); but another outburst of Saul’s hostility forced David to flee, this time with the aid of Michal (1 S 19:11 ff). Even the members of Saul’s own family assist the man whose destiny it is to establish his dynasty in place of their own, as Saul says to Jonathan (1 S 20:30 f). Jonathan’s intercession did not restore David to favor, and David had to become a fugitive.

The course of events by which David came into royal favor, achieved fame, and then incurred Saul’s hostility and became a fugitive, is fairly clear in spite of the fact that the stories are independent of each other and in some instances duplicate each other. For example, at 1 S 20:35 ff the signal of the arrows is employed according to the previous agreement because a personal meeting would be so dangerous as to be practically impossible. In the present text, the pathetic personal meeting, which must have been independent of the story of the arrows, follows immediately. After David fled from Saul he became a bandit (1 S 21–31); the ancient stories state this frankly without glossing it, something which a number of modern writers, anxious lest David’s sanctity be tarnished, cannot bring themselves to do. David first fled to the sanctuary of Nob*, where he was refreshed and armed by Ahimelech* the priest. David then attempted to take service with the Philistines*, the enemies of Israel; but they would not trust the great Israelite hero and he had to flee into the desert of Judah. At the cave of Adullam* he gathered a band of about 400 men, discontented, debtors, rebels against Saul. These were the nucleus of what became a band of professional soldiers who supported David for the rest of his career. He secured the safety of his parents by sending them to Moab* (1 S 22:3 ff); this episode is one of the factors which lead some modern scholars to think that the family of David was not Israelite in origin. In asking hospitality from Ahimelech David

had not disclosed the enmity of Saul. When Ahimelech's kindness was reported to Saul by Doeg*, Saul, whose madness was now apparent, had all the priests of Nob slain. Abiathar* alone escaped to David with the ephod*. Saul pursued David through the desert* of Judah. The men of Keilah* and of Ziph* were willing to betray David to Saul (1 S 23:10 ff, 19 ff); the betrayal by the men of Ziph is duplicated in 1 S 26:1 ff. On two occasions David trapped Saul in a cave (1 S 24:4 ff; 26:2 ff) and spared his life; these two stories again are probably variant accounts of one incident. In each story Saul admits he is wrong and seeks reconciliation; but no reconciliation is made, and the subsequent stories show no evidence of any acquaintance with these stories of David's magnanimity. During David's bandit career he fell in with a rich man of Carmel* named Nabal*, the husband of Abigail*. This incident illustrates the life of the bandit. David's offer of protection to Nabal, an offer no doubt made to many rich men, was nothing but a veiled form of extortion. When the offer was refused, David was ready to wipe out Nabal and his entire house. This murderous design was averted by the sagacity of Abigail, who married David shortly after the sudden death of Nabal, attributed to the shock of hearing of his narrow escape; but historians have long been suspicious of Abigail, who brought the rich estates of Nabal to David.

David finally took service with Achish* of Gath* as a mercenary of the Philistines (1 S 27:1 ff) and received for his service Ziklag* in the south of Judah; the story explains why Ziklag was the personal property of the king even to the time of the narrator. David's raids on the nomads of the desert were explained by him to his Philistine overlord as raids upon the territory of Judah; Hebrew tradition rejected the idea that the great Israelite hero had ever preyed upon his own people, which he was willing to do in the affair of Nabal, and which he could scarcely have avoided in the service of the Philistines. An even greater crisis awaited David in the mobilization of the Philistine forces against Saul. Achish wished to include David and his men with his own contingent, but the other Philistine commanders still did not trust him and insisted that he return. David found that the Amalekites* had raided his city of Ziklag; he pursued them and recovered the captives and the booty. The story attributes the Israelite policy of dividing the booty equally between those who fight in combat and those who guard the base to an ordinance of David in this campaign (1 S 30:24 f). The same ordinance is attributed to Moses in Nm

31:27, a composition of probably much later origin. Thus through no device of his own David was relieved of the necessity of taking part in the battle in which Saul and his sons were killed and Israel badly defeated. Had he been engaged in this battle, unless he turned against the Philistines, he could scarcely have presented himself to his people as the savior of Israel.

In the confusion which followed this defeat David let events guide him. He refused to accept the death of Saul as good news (2 S 1:13 ff). He accepted the kingship of Judah when elected by the men of Judah and took residence at Hebron (2 S 2:4 ff); he could not have taken this office except as a vassal of the Philistines. Probably this Philistine connection had its part in the war which dragged out between David and the remnant of the Israelite kingdom under Ishbaal*, the son of Saul (2 S 2:8 ff). David gradually prevailed over Ishbaal, and the fall of the house of Saul was certain when Abner*, insulted by Ishbaal, determined to transfer the allegiance of Israel from Ishbaal to David. Although Abner was murdered by Joab*, who feared that his own influence with David would be lessened, David accepted the betrayal of Abner. Again, however, he refused to accept the murder of Ishbaal by two bandit chieftains (2 S 4:5 ff); he punished them, but he was now the only candidate for the monarchy of Israel. He was elected to this office by all the tribes (2 S 5:1 ff).

The two most important steps in the consolidation of David's monarchy were the capture of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Philistines. The remaining records of both these events are incomplete and it is impossible to establish a chronological relation between them. As a royal residence Jerusalem had the advantage not only of a strong natural site but also of a location in neutral territory; it was not Israelite, associated with neither David's tribe of Judah nor Saul's kingdom, lying between Judah and Benjamin. The war with the Philistines is related only in a few fragments (2 S 5:17 ff; 21:15 ff). It is evident from the subsequent course of Israelite history that the Philistines were never again a serious military threat. We cannot trace David's victory; but the Israelites probably outnumbered the Philistines and needed only strong unified leadership and equality in armament and tactics. David made Jerusalem not only his royal residence where he built his palace (2 S 5:11 ff) with the help of Hiram* of Tyre but also the religious center of Israel. The ark* of the covenant had been neglected since its failure to assist the Israelites in their war against the Philistines before

the accession of Saul. David now took this ancient symbol of Israelite unity and brought it to his new capital. The untimely death of Uzzah* in the procession of the ark halted the festivities briefly and caused a postponement of the entrance of the ark; but a three months' experiment relieved his fear. The introduction of the ark into Jerusalem was the occasion of an estrangement between David and Michal; she found the vigor of David's dancing too undignified for a king. In return David excluded her from his bed for the rest of her life (2 S 6:20 ff).

There is no reason to question with some modern scholars the desire of David to build a fitting temple for the ark (2 S 7:1 ff). We know of no Israelite temple before this date; but it is unlikely that David while building himself a palace would continue to house the symbol of Yahweh's presence in a tent. Nathan* agreed when he was first consulted, but subsequently asserted that it was not the will of Yahweh that David himself should build the temple. He promised David in the name of Yahweh an eternal dynasty (2 S 7:8-16). This oracle, preserved at greater length in Ps 89:20 ff, is the root of the messianic character of David and his house (cf MESSIAH), which later took shape in the belief that a deliverer from David's house would effect the final and lasting deliverance of Israel; this belief in turn is at the base of the Christian belief in the redeeming work of Jesus Christ; cf Rm 1:3, part of an early credal formula. Other wars of David are mentioned briefly in 2 S 8:1 ff; 10:1-19; 12:26-31. It is evident from these brief notices that David established a little Israelite empire. This was possible only because of the power vacuum caused by the weakness of Egypt and Mesopotamia. David conquered the Moabites (2 S 8:2 ff), with whom he had been on friendly terms earlier, and treated the captives barbarously, killing two out of three. One may suppose that a dynastic change in Moab was responsible for the change of attitude between David and the Moabite ruler. He also defeated Hadadezer*, king of the Aramaean kingdom of Zobah*, NE of Israelite territory, Damascus*, which David garrisoned, and Edom* (2 S 8:13-14). David exacted tribute from the Moabites and the Aramaean kingdoms; the Edomites and the Ammonites were reduced to forced labor. He formed an alliance with Toi*, king of Hamath* in Syria*, who saw the wisdom of alliance rather than conquest.

The most complete record of David's life is the "family history" in 2 S 9-20. Most modern scholars believe this account was written by a contemporary eyewitness. The war with the Ammonites was the occasion

of David's adultery with Bathsheba*. According to 2 S 21:15-17 David's officers were unwilling that he should expose himself in war, and thus he found himself in Jerusalem while Uriah* his neighbor, the husband of Bathsheba, was campaigning. The murder of Uriah was necessary to protect Bathsheba from the penalty of adultery for the pregnancy which followed the adultery. The son died, but the second son of Bathsheba was Solomon*. The family history of David makes this the turning point of David's life. It takes David at the point where his success is greatest both in external and internal affairs. He sins and is rebuked by Nathan; but the death of the child is only the beginning of his punishment. From this point his life is one unbroken series of misfortunes: Amnon's* rape of Tamar* and incest with her (2 S 13:1 ff), the murder of Amnon by Absalom* in revenge for the rape (2 S 13:21 ff), the exile of Absalom ended by the intercession of Joab. Absalom, who now expected to succeed, planned to usurp power before his father died (2 S 15:1 ff) and succeeded by political maneuvering in winning a sufficient number of the people and the royal officers so that David had to flee from Jerusalem when the rebellion was proclaimed in Hebron. The sudden and wide success of the rebellion suggests not only that Absalom and his associates were mendacious, but also that there were some less agreeable features of David's rule which have not been preserved in our traditions — perhaps something like the "heavy galling yoke" of Solomon (2 S 12:4). David fled E of the Jordan where he was able to organize his forces. It seems likely that the people of Hebron, possibly of all Judah, and of Jerusalem — probably non-Israelite — favored the rebellion; but it is difficult to say that the entire kingdom did. The professional soldiers were loyal to David; as soon as David could mobilize them, Absalom's forces were defeated. David's order to preserve the life of Absalom was not obeyed by Joab. To the story of the rebellion of Absalom is attached the story of a rebellion of some of the northern tribes under Sheba* ben Bichri, of Benjamin (2 S 20:1 ff). We need not suppose that this rebellion followed immediately upon the rebellion of Absalom, as it does in the narrative. Both rebellions show us that David's monarchy and empire did not rest upon the true internal unity of the people. This is borne out by the events which followed the death of his son Solomon.

Some of the misfortunes of David's reign which Hebrew tradition has preserved have been brought together in 2 S 24 in connection with the census. We cannot tell at

what point in David's reign he took the census; some scholars think it is the census preserved in Nm. The census was unpopular because it was taken to determine sources of tax revenue, military service, and forced labor; and many Israelites thought it was challenging God to count one's blessings so explicitly. Hence Gad* offered David a choice of three years of famine, three months of flight from his enemies, or three days of pestilence. All three of these actually occurred; the pestilence in the story of the census, the three years of famine in 2 S 21, and the flight before Absalom. Here the history of David has been reconstructed theologically. The three years' famine was popularly attributed to the failure of the Israelite rulers to expiate the blood* guilt incurred by the house of Saul for Saul's violation of the ancient treaty with Gibeon*. An oracular response demanded that David, according to the principle of blood guilt, deliver the surviving men of the house of Saul to the Gibeonites, which he did with one exception. The famine ended with the execution of the men of the house of Saul.

In 1 K 1:1 ff David is represented as prematurely aged, while his associates and contemporaries like Nathan and Joab were still vigorous. Adonijah, the eldest surviving son of David, expected to succeed his father and began to conduct himself as king. We observe that Nathan, who had rebuked David for his adultery with Bathsheba, had now joined the party of Bathsheba and Solomon; they were supported also by Benaiah*, the commander of the royal guard, and the priest Zadok*. With Adonijah were Joab and Abiathar the priest. Bathsheba, urged by Nathan, reminded David of his oath that Solomon should succeed him; actually there is no evidence outside of Bathsheba's testimony that David had ever taken such an oath. David honored the commitment and had Solomon installed as coregent. This interrupted the coronation festivities of Adonijah and put Adonijah and all his supporters at the mercy of Solomon. The "last will" of David (1 K 2:1 ff) in which he commits to Solomon the execution of blood vengeance on Joab and Shimei* is questioned by some modern scholars as an effort to throw the guilt of this violence from Solomon to David. But Hebrew tradition moves in the opposite direction; we can trace in it efforts to remove from David some more obvious blemishes. It is far more likely that the attribution of these acts of vengeance to David's wish represents an authentic tradition; nor would they be regarded as blameworthy in the society of the blood feud (cf AVENGER).

The books of Chronicles* base their ac-

count of David on the stories of Samuel and Kings and seem to have no other source. The story of David has been edited by the omission of some disagreeable features; his bandit life, his adultery with Bathsheba, the murder of Uriah, and his family troubles are not included. The Chronicler adds some information about the preparation and plans for the building of the temple and for its worship (1 Ch 22:1—28:21). In particular David is credited with the organization of the Levitical* choirs and some other Levitical offices. This seems to be a claim of antiquity for the Levitical choirs; they did not claim, like the priesthood, to be of Mosaic institution. The Chronicler explains David's failure to build the temple as due to Yahweh's unwillingness to have the temple built by a man who had shed so much blood (1 Ch 22:8 f). This rationalization is not found in 2 S 7. To what extent David made plans and gathered material for the temple cannot be exactly determined; there is no reason to doubt the tradition that he did, but the details come from the free reconstruction of the past in the style of the books of Chronicles.

The fragmentary nature of our sources about David makes it difficult to evaluate his character with accuracy and fairness. We must not attribute to him the piety of the Psalms*, of which 73 bear his name in the title. David can be the author of no more than a very few of these compositions. While in many instances the type of piety expressed in the Pss is suitable for David, in many others the expressions of devotion are surprising in the mouth of the lusty turbulent warrior and bandit chieftain. David's predominant feature is violence—perhaps no more than was characteristic in his age and culture, but scarcely less. He shows no more respect for human life than his contemporaries of Canaan or Mesopotamia. From his childhood he is accustomed to violence, to a life of defense and aggression. The stories of David exhibit not only physical violence but the violence of passion, the blazing anger which would destroy Nabal and his house and the flame of desire which took the willing Bathsheba after a single glance. Like all Oriental potentates David kept a numerous harem. There is no more than poetic justice in the violence which cursed him and his sons and took all happiness from the latter half of his life. David could command loyalty; most of his followers stayed with him from his early years to his latest. Self-interest may have been involved, but very few of his old associates abandoned him for Absalom.

It has been questioned whether David returned the loyalty which he received. Many

historians have refused to believe that he was as innocent of the murders which advanced his career as Hebrew tradition has made him. But the stories have a consistent pattern; and while one must marvel at the consistency with which obstacles were removed, one may not manufacture evidence to verify a suspicion. David did not remain loyal to his own people when he passed into the service of the Philistines as a mercenary. On the other hand, one must remember that the concept of a "people" to whom loyalty was owed was not clear at that time; and the king, who was identical with the people in ancient monarchies, had rejected David. Many modern writers credit David with an extraordinary degree of political skill and astuteness. David was successful; he rose from shepherd boy to king, and while it is true that events favored his advancement, one must admit that he was able to recognize opportunity and, if he could not foster it positively, he knew how to avoid any steps which would spoil it. But there were certain limitations on his political skill. The rebellion of Absalom seems to have taken David entirely unaware; and this rebellion revealed weaknesses in his control of some of his close associates, and an even more glaring loss of contact with the people at large. One must credit him with the creation of a united Israel; neither he nor any other found a principle of lasting unity.

The religion of David is of a piece with his morality. Both are the religion and the morality of a simple, ambitious and violent man, who is easily convinced that Yahweh is on his side and he on the side of Yahweh, that the cause of Yahweh and of His people are one with his own cause, and who is scarcely aware of any great demands which God makes of him. He is substantially faithful to those few demands of which he is aware.

It is necessary to have an accurate historical estimate of David because of the position which he occupies in Hebrew belief. Almost with the accession of Solomon David begins to appear as the ideal ruler of Israel. Certainly we cannot say that Hebrew tradition whitewashes him; 1-2 S, which are frank, and 1 Ch, which polishes him almost beyond recognition, are different types of literature. Hence we must realize that the concept of ideal king is to be understood in Hebrew terms. He is neither a moral ideal nor a religious ideal, nor even an ideal of success, since tradition preserved the memory of the rebellion of Absalom. He was the ideal king because he did better than any one else in Hebrew tradition what a king was expected to do. He created a united Israel, his military successes removed external danger and en-

riched his people and made it possible for the Israelite to sit under his vine and fig tree with none to terrify. None of his successors equaled him. The throne of Judah remained in Hebrew literature the throne of David. The authors and compilers measure succeeding kings of Judah against David and find them wanting.

David was promised an eternal dynasty in the oracle of Nathan because he best realized the ideal of kingship. His house would endure even if his successors were unworthy. The covenant of Yahweh with David would stand until it was fulfilled in another ruler who would be another and a greater David and who would establish the ideal kingdom of Yahweh. This future deliverer does not appear in the original oracle; the idea grew with the progress of time and the deterioration of the dynasty of David. If the dynasty were eternal, a greater than David would have to restore it. The ideal kingship of David is fundamental in the messianic belief of the OT (cf KING).

David is mentioned in the NT most frequently in the phrases "son of David" or "seed of David" spoken to Jesus or about Him. It is evident from Paul's references to the descent of Jesus from David (Rm 1:3; 2 Tm 2:8) that the royal descent was a key element in the messianic character of Jesus as seen in the primitive Church. The title appears in the gospel as given to Jesus by various individuals, in particular by those who sought a cure. The title must have messianic overtones, since the Gospels elsewhere express the Jewish conviction that the Messiah must be the son of David (Mt 22:45; Mk 12:35; Lk 20:41; Jn 7:42). The honorific title which could be given to any descendant of David grants that the person so addressed is eligible for the messianic claim; this must be its meaning in the context of the cures, as also in the reception of Jesus with palms on the Sunday before His death (Mt 21:9-15).

David, city of. Defined in 2 S 5:7, 9 (gloss) as "the citadel of Zion." This indicates the most ancient settlement of Jerusalem* or a part thereof. In 2 S 5:6 ff the "city of David" or "the citadel of Zion" is what David took from the Jebusites—presumably the whole city. The title is employed elsewhere to indicate the place where David brought the ark (2 S 6:10, 12, 16). It is mentioned most frequently as the place of the burial of the kings of Judah (1 K 2:10; 11:43; 15:8, 24; 22:50; 2 K 8:24; 9:28; 12:22; 14:20; 16:20 and parallels in 1-2 Ch). The breaches in the city of David were repaired in the time of Hezekiah (Is 22:9). On the extent of the city of David and of Zion cf JERUSALEM.

Solomon brought the daughter of the Pharaoh into the city of David until his palace should be finished (1 K 3:1). The ark was brought up to the temple from the city of David (1 K 8:1), and the daughter of Pharaoh went up to her own palace from the city of David (1 K 9:24).

Day. Day as signifying a period of 24 hours is found both in the OT and NT. The days of creation (Gn 1:5 ff) are reckoned "evening and morning, day x" (Gn 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23). The Hebrews after the Exile* and in NT times, like the Babylonians, reckoned the day as beginning with sunset and extending to the following sunset (Sabbath rest, Ne 13:19; Passover and Mazzoth festival, Ex 12:6-10, 18). In earlier times the night was reckoned with the preceding day (Gn 19:34; Lv 7:15; 22:30; Jgs 19:4-9; 1 S 19:11). In popular speech day more commonly signifies the hours of daylight from sunrise to sunset. Day and night are contrasted as distinct realities in the creation account of Gn 1:4, where light* is separated from the darkness* of chaos and called day (cf Jb 38:12-20). The Mesopotamian division of daylight into 12 double hours and the night into three watches does not appear in the OT. In the NT the Jews had adopted the Greek division of the day into 12 hours from sunrise to sunset; the length of the hours varied according to the season of the year (Mt 20:3, 5, 6; Jn 11:9). Commonly also day is used to signify an appointed time, a season, or a period of time.

Day of the Lord, Day of Yahweh. The idea of the day of the Lord was a popular belief in preexilic Israelite religion. Neither its roots nor its form can be traced precisely. It first appears in Am 5:18-20 as a known popular belief which Amos takes for granted without explaining. From his brief description the day of the Lord which people desire will be in their own minds light and brightness; Amos assures them that it will be darkness and not light, blackness with no brightness in it. Amos thus incorporates this popular belief in his own prediction of the fall of Israel. If one argues from the inversion of the idea in prophetic literature one may assume that the day of the Lord was a day on which Yahweh would manifest Himself in His power and glory; in cosmic convulsions He would overturn all the enemies of Israel and establish His own people supreme. In its earliest form the Day of the Lord was probably the day of victory in the holy war* (G. von Rad). The prophets* adopt the popular imagery and apply it either to the judgment of Israel or the judgment of all mankind. The day of

Yahweh is probably the "evil day" of Am 6:3 and the "day" when the sun will set at noon and the earth will grow dark in broad daylight (Am 8:9). Yahweh has a day when He will be exalted and He will bring down all that is proud and high, all that is lofty and tall (Is 2:11 ff). The day of Yahweh is pitiless, a day of wrath and fierce anger; it makes the earth a desolation and destroys sinners from its face. There are cosmic convulsions; the stars disappear, the sun is darkened, and the moon does not shine (Is 13:9-10, a composition later than the 7th century). Zp describes the day of the Lord as a day of sacrifice, when crimes will be punished and cries of disaster will be heard all over Jerusalem. It is a day of wrath, of trouble and distress, of desolation and waste, darkness and gloom, cloud and blackness, trumpet and battle cry—language adopted by Jacopone da Todi in the *Dies Irae*. Some of the phrases of Zp are borrowed in Jl 2:2, and the cosmic catastrophes of the day of Yahweh are described in heightened colors in Jl 2:30-31. In Jl, however, the day of Yahweh is the beginning of deliverance for Zion and Jerusalem, but a day of judgment on the nations (Jl 4:14). This shift away from the emphasis of Amos back toward the early popular belief is seen also in Zc 14:1 ff; the day of Yahweh is a day when the nations shall be gathered to do battle against Jerusalem and shall be defeated and destroyed (cf Ezk 38-39; gog). Thus even in the primitive popular belief in the day of Yahweh His cosmic dominion and His power and will to save and to judge were affirmed. In the prophetic writings the belief in these attributes is raised above a merely secular and national level to a point where Israel as well as the nations must face the salvation and the judgment of God according to a universal moral and religious standard. In the later prophetic writings Israel is expected to survive this judgment and to be vindicated as the people of God, not merely because they are the chosen people of Yahweh but because they have been morally and religiously tested.

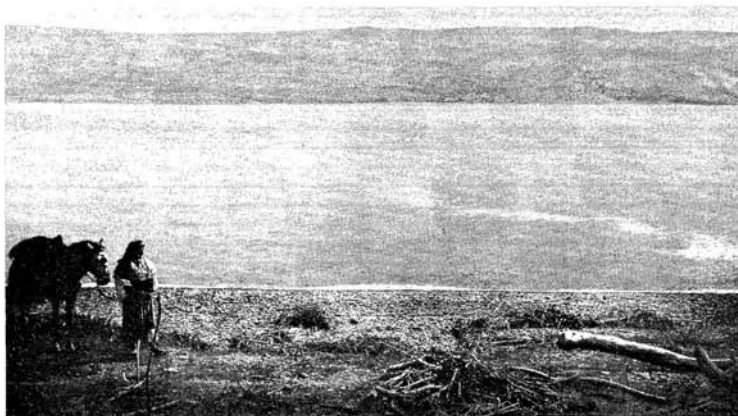
In the NT the "day of the Son of Man" (Lk 17:24), the day when the Son of Man is manifested (Lk 17:30) as judge, is described in terms drawn from the OT day of Yahweh. It is doubtful that "my day" mentioned by Jesus in Jn 8:56 signifies the day of His manifestation as judge. In the context it is more easily understood as referring to the Incarnation. "The day of God" (2 Pt 3:12) on which the heavens shall be destroyed and elements melted in flames to be replaced by a new heaven and a new earth is likewise cast in OT language. On "the great

day of God Almighty" a battle will take place between the demonic spirits and the heavenly hosts (Apc 16:14). The "Day of Jesus Christ" for which Christians must be prepared and for which God strengthens them (1 Co 1:8; Phl 1:6, 10) and on which Paul himself will boast of his Christian congregations (2 Co 1:14; Phl 2:16) can only be the day on which Jesus is manifested in His glory, the day when all shall be judged (cf PAROUSIA; JUDGMENT). This is "the day" which comes like a thief (1 Th 5:2, 4), the day which will manifest the works of each one, to be tried by fire (1 Co 3:13).

Deacon, Deaconess. (Gk *diakonos* and its cognates mean primarily one who serves at table). In some of the Gk papyri *diakoneîn trapezais* (AA 6:2) means to keep accounts. Both the noun and the verb are found in the NT (Lk 10:40; Jn 2:5, 9; AA 6:1+). In a metaphorical sense the word may be translated minister or servant and is applied to the apostles* as ministers of the new covenant (2 Co 3:6), ministers of God (2 Co 6:4), ministers of justice (2 Co 11:15), of Christ (2 Co 11:23). Whether "the diversity of services" (1 Co 12:5) and the "service" mentioned with prophecy and teaching (Rm 12:7) indicate a distinct hierarchical office in the Church is open to question. These contexts do not suggest such an office. "Deacon" appears as a distinct office (Phl 1:1), where Paul addresses his letter to all the saints at Philippi with the bishops* and deacons. The qualities demanded in a deacon are listed in 1 Tm 3:8-13, immediately after the list of qualifications for the office of bishop. There is no evidence in the NT concerning the functions of the deacon in the Church. One may adduce the institution of the "Seven" in AA 6:1-6. Here a dispute arose because the Greek-speaking Christians thought their widows should receive equal treatment with the widows of the Palestinian Jewish Christian community. The Twelve refused to be involved in the dispute; it was beneath their office to serve tables. Hence they asked the community to institute other officers to take care of this duty and enable the Twelve to give themselves to "prayer and the ministry of the word." The men to be chosen should be "full of the spirit and wisdom" (AA 6:3), "faith and the holy spirit" (AA 6:5). These were instituted in their office by the imposition* of hands (AA 6:6). The accounts of Stephen* and Philip* in AA show them preaching and baptizing, much as the apostles did; and it is possible that these functions were included in the office of deacon. But the Seven are not called deacons, and one may look else-

where for the earliest form of the office. Possibly we should think of the deacon not as an officer of the community, but as an assistant to the bishop (Beyer ThWB). Here also perhaps, since deacon means primarily one who serves at table, we should think of the deacon as assisting the bishop in performing the rite of the Eucharist*. The office of minister or servant of the synagogue*, immediately under the "ruler of the synagogue" (*archisynagogos*), may also be invoked as a parallel to the office of deacon. *Diakonos* appears in Gk inscriptions referring to the personnel of pagan cults; but we have no clear information about the function of the officer so named, except that the name itself suggests that the officer would be concerned with the sacrificial banquet. In Rm 16:1 Phoebe* is called "our sister, deaconess of the church in Cenchreae*." The title here does not of itself indicate a hierarchical office; it can refer to services rendered by Phoebe to the community of Cenchreae. In 1 Tm 3:11 there seems to be a clear reference to women who either render services to the Church or assist the deacons in the performance of their duties; it seems unlikely that the qualities mentioned refer to the wives of deacons except in so far as the wives might assist the husbands in their duties.

Dead Sea (Hb *yām hammelaḥ*, "Salt Sea"; *yam ha "rābāh*, "Sea of the Arabah"; *hayyām hakkadmōnī*, "the Eastern Sea"). The Dead Sea is formed by the inflow of the Jordan and other streams, most of them on the E side of the sea; the water has no outlet, and the evaporation is extremely heavy. The Dead Sea is covered by a haze most of the time; its entire width is easily visible, but its length can be seen only rarely. The saline content of the Dead Sea is about 25 percent, six times the saline content of the ocean, and the density of the water permits persons to float with no effort; in fact, it is impossible to sink. There are no fish in the Dead Sea, and fresh water fish which are carried in by the Jordan current die instantly. Salt cliffs at the SW corner of the sea were a source of salt in ancient times. The sea is 53 mi long and 10 mi wide at its greatest; a number of scholars believe that the S end of the sea, a bay formed by the peninsula el Lisan ("the tongue"), which extends from the E side, was formed by an earthquake about 2000 BC, which would explain the story of Sodom* and Gomorrah. The Dead Sea is the lowest point N of the Red Sea in the great rift or fault which extends from N Syria and continues as the Red Sea basin to the straits of Aden. The surface of the



Dead Sea with the
Mountains of Moab in
the background.

sea is 1290 ft below sea level, and the sea is 1300 ft deep at its deepest.

The Dead Sea, hemmed in closely by the cliffs of Moab to the E and of Judah to the W, often has a rugged beauty in its blue waters and the reddish cliffs; but the beauty is deceptive. The sea lies in the rain shadow of the highlands of Judah and its immediate neighborhood is an entirely dead wilderness of sand and bare rock. In historic times it has not been a center of population except for a few oases on its shores and the community of Qumran*.

The Dead Sea is identified with the valley of Siddim* (Gn 14:3). It is most frequently mentioned as a border point: of the kingdom of the Amorites* (Dt 4:49; Jos 12:3), of Benjamin (Jos 18:19), of Reuben and Gad (Dt 3:17), of Judah (Jos 15:2, 5), of Israel (Nm 34:3, 12; 2 K 14:25; Ezk 47:18). In the messianic land of Ezk the Dead Sea will be freshened by the stream which rises from the temple, but deposits

of salt will be left (Ezk 47:8-12; cf Zc 14:8).

Dead Sea Scrolls. Cf QUMRAN.

Death. 1. *OT.* The OT exhibits a certain development in the Israelite ideas of death. This development is not progressive; one may find in BS a concept of death which scarcely differs from the concept found in the Pnt. The prevailing view in the OT is that death is terminal. One's concept of death is ultimately determined by one's concept of life*; hence the Hb concept of the human person as an animated body rather than an incarnated spirit made the end of animation appear to be the cessation of all vital activity. When a person died, the "spirit" departed; the deceased continued to exist as a "self" (*nepeš*) in Sheol*, but was incapable of any vital activity or passivity. The dead take no part in divine worship (Pss 6:6; 30:10; 88:11; 115:17; cf also Is

38:11, 18). It is against this background of OT belief that Jesus said that God is not the God of the dead but of the living (Mt 22:32; Mk 12:27; Lk 20:38). Death is accepted as the natural end of man (2 S 14:14). The ideal death was attained in the fullness of old age with undiminished powers (Gn 25:8; Jb 21:23 f; 29:18–20⁺). One who dies such an ideal death dies easily and quickly; he goes down to Sheol “in a moment” (Jb 21:13) and is not the victim either of a premature death or of a lingering wasting disease. Such a death “embitters” one (Jb 21:15). The sense of the story of Paradise* (Gn 2–3) is that death is the consequence of the primeval fall* and that man was not created by God to be mortal. In the imagery of the Paradise story immortality is attained by eating the fruit of the tree of life, from which man is now excluded. This story has some resemblance to the Mesopotamian account of the search of Gilgamesh* for the plant of life, which Gilgamesh found only to lose it by theft at once, as well as to the story of Adapa. Adapa was admitted to the presence of the gods but warned against accepting the food of death and the water of death, which would be offered him. Actually he was offered the food of life and the water of life. The belief that death came as the consequence of a primeval fall is not reflected elsewhere in the OT before BS 25:24. There are occasional expressions in the OT of a strain of hope that death is not as terminal as it seems. Thus in Ps 16:9 the poet rejoices that Yahweh will not abandon him to Sheol nor permit him to see the pit. In Ps 49:16 the poet is assured that God will redeem him from Sheol. Similar expressions are not uncommon in the Pss and usually signify no more than preservation from sudden or premature death. The context of these Pss seems to go beyond this, since the whole problem of life and death generally is involved, particularly in Ps 49. Even clearer is the assurance of the poet in Ps 73:23 ff that he has no portion except Yahweh in heaven or in earth. If Yahweh’s promises and His loving kindness are everlasting, then there must be some way in which the loyal Israelite will experience them. How he shall do it is not formulated in this early phase of Israelite belief. The Israelite conception of death was affected by the underlying cosmic myth of creation* in which so much Israelite thought was cast. The struggle between order and chaos, light and darkness, was also a struggle between life and death. In the ancient Semitic myths of creation life and death were alternately victorious. As Hb belief in Yahweh did not permit them to accept the idea that His power and will

for good were not sufficient to overcome the forces of evil, so also they could not believe that He was not victorious over death; at least death could not touch Him. Obviously, however, as they developed a belief in a final victory of Yahweh over the forces of darkness, evil and chaos, so likewise the logic of their faith demanded that He overcome death also. This development appears rather late in OT belief; we find no certain trace of a clear belief in the resurrection* of the dead before the 2nd century BC in Dn. The immortality of the soul* as proposed in WS, a product of Alexandrian Judaism, was really an element foreign to Hb belief and Hb psychology which was never assimilated into the OT or NT.

2. NT. The NT adds the explicit and clear belief that death is a consequence and a punishment of sin. This is stated most clearly in Rm 5:12 ff. Here the parallel is drawn out at length between death to many through the sin of one and life to many through the righteousness of one. Likewise in 1 Co 15:22 we all die in Adam, but we are all brought to life in Christ. A second element in the NT conception of death is that Jesus has overcome death by His own death. Death is the last adversary which He overcomes (1 Co 15:25 f). He has deprived death of its power (2 Tm 1:10). He has rendered powerless the devil, the lord of death (Heb 2:14). The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus frees us from the law of sin and death (Rm 8:2). Christ has died and come to life to rule over the living and the dead (Rm 14:9). Once Christ has risen from the dead He does not die again; death has no more power over Him (Rm 6:9). When all had died, one died on behalf of all that they might live not for themselves but for him who had died on their behalf (2 Co 5:14 f). Because Jesus humiliated Himself to death, the Father has conferred on Him glory and honor (Phl 2:5 ff). The Christian experiences Jesus’s victory over death by himself sharing in the death of Jesus. This is elaborated at length in Rm 6:2 ff. The Christian is baptized into the death of Jesus, for only thus can he rise with Him to a new life. Sharing in the death of Christ is a “planting” with Him (Rm 6:5). The old man is crucified. If we die with Christ, we shall live with Him (Rm 6:8). We are dead to sin, living to God in Christ Jesus (Rm 6:11). If we live according to the flesh we shall die; but if by the spirit we kill the deeds of the body we shall live (Rm 8:13). Paul is crucified with Christ, so that he no longer lives, but Christ lives in him (Gal 2:20). He is crucified to the world and the world is crucified to him (Gal 6:14). Faith in Jesus does not protect one from death; but

it gives assurance that one shall not die forever (Jn 11:26). To partake of the Eucharist means that one shall not die but shall have eternal life (Jn 6:50 f). Parallel to the concept of eternal life is the concept of the "second death" (Apc 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8), by which one is deprived of eternal life. Christians who die are dead in Christ (1 Th 4:16).

Debir (Hb *dēbîr*, etymology uncertain), also called Kirjath-sepher, *kiryat-sēper*, an older name (Jos 15:15 f; Jgs 1:11 f); a town of Judah, located at modern Tell Beit Mirsim 12 mi WSW of Hebron in the Shephelah*. The conquest of Debir by Joshua* is mentioned twice (Jos 10:38; 11:21); it is called a city of the Anakim*. These are schematic attributions (cf JOSHUA); the city was taken by Othniel* (Jos 15:15 f; Jgs 1:11 f; cf CALEB; KENIZZITE). Debir was on the frontier of Judah (Jos 15:7) and is listed among the cities of Judah (Jos 15:49) and among the Levitical cities of Judah (Jos 21:15; 1 Ch 6:43).

The site is important not because of its historical interest but because of the thoroughness with which it was excavated by W. F. Albright 1926–1932; this excavation is a landmark in the development of the techniques of modern Palestinian archaeology. The area enclosed within the walls was about 7.5 acres. Debir was first settled in Early Bronze IV (2300–2100 BC). A 19th-century wall about 11 ft thick was uncovered. The disturbed conditions of Palestine in the 2nd millennium BC were illustrated by four general destructions and four partial destructions of the city which occurred between 1800–1500. A large number of Astarte* plaques from Late Bronze and Iron I (late

Canaanite and early Israelite) illustrate the fertility cults of Canaan and the OT. Of particular interest was a stele of a goddess and a serpent*. The city was violently destroyed by fire about 1200 BC and resettled almost immediately; this destruction and resettlement must be attributed to the Israelites. Casemated city walls of Iron I were attributed to the early reign of David, when the city was fortified against the Philistines*. Debir was destroyed by the Babylonians 598–587 BC and abandoned.

Deborah (Hb *dēbōrāh*, "bee"). 1. Nurse of Rebekah, buried near Bethel* (Gn 35:8). 2. A prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth (Jgs 4:4; 5:31). Deborah lived in Tomer-Deborah in the hill country of Ephraim* between Ramah* and Bethel*. When the Israelites were oppressed by the Canaanites* under Jabin* and Sisera*, they appealed to Deborah. She summoned Barak and in the name of Yahweh ordered him to assemble 10,000 men from Zebulun* and Naphtali* near Mount Tabor*. Barak refused to go unless Deborah accompanied him, which she did. When the army of Sisera approached Deborah gave the order to join the battle. The poem in Jgs 5 which describes the victory is attributed to Deborah and is usually called the Song of Deborah. Modern critics are unanimous in affirming the antiquity of this poem; many believe it is the oldest extant Hebrew literary composition, going back to the period of the Judges. But the traditional attribution is not enough of itself to establish the authorship of Deborah.

Decalogue. The ten commandments appear in the OT in two somewhat different formulae.

Exodus 20

- 2 I the Lord am your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, the place of slavery.
- 3 You shall not have other Gods besides me.
- 4 You shall not carve idols for yourselves in the shape of anything in the sky above or in the earth below or in the waters beneath the earth; 5 you shall not bow down before them or worship them. For I the Lord your God am a jealous God, inflicting punishment for their fathers' wickedness on the children of those who hate me down to the third and fourth generation, 6 but bestowing mercy down to the thousandth generation on the children of those who love me and keep my commandments.
- 7 You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain; for the Lord will not leave unpunished him who takes his name in vain.
- 8 Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day;

Deuteronomy 5

- 6 I the Lord am your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, that place of slavery.
- 7 You shall not have other gods besides me.
- 8 You shall not carve idols for yourselves in the shape of anything in the sky above or on the earth below or in the waters beneath the earth; 9 you shall not bow down before them or worship them. For I the Lord your God am a jealous God, inflicting punishment for their father's wickedness on the children of those who hate me, unto the fourth generation, 10 but bestowing mercy down to the thousandth generation on the children of those who love me and keep my commandments.
- 11 You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain; for the Lord will not leave unpunished him who takes his name in vain.
- 12 Take care to keep holy the Sabbath day as the Lord your God commanded you.

- 9 Six days you may labor and do all your work; 10 but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. No work may be done then either by you or by your son or daughter, or your male or female slave or your beast or the alien who lives with you. 11 In six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in them; but on the seventh day He rested. That is why the Lord has blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy.
- 12 Honor your father and your mother that you may have a long life in the land which the Lord your God is giving you.
- 13 You shall not kill.
- 14 You shall not commit adultery.
- 15 You shall not steal.
- 16 You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.
- 17 You shall not covet
your neighbor's house; you shall not covet your neighbor's wife, nor his male and female slave, nor his ox or ass, nor anything else that belong to him.
- 13 Six days you may labor and do all your work; 14 but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. No work may be done then, whether by you, or your son or daughter, or your male or female slave, or your ox or your ass, or any of your beasts, or the alien who lives with you. Your male and female slaves rest as you do; 15 for remember that you too were once slaves in Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. That is why the Lord your God has commanded you to observe the Sabbath day.
- 16 Honor your father and your mother as the Lord your God has commanded you, that you may have a long life and prosperity in the land which the Lord your God is giving you.
- 17 You shall not kill.
- 18 You shall not commit adultery.
- 19 You shall not steal.
- 20 You shall not bear dishonest witness against your neighbor.
- 21 You shall not covet
your neighbor's wife. You shall not desire your neighbor's house, nor his male or female slave, nor his ox or ass, nor anything that belongs to him.

That ten words or commandments were given by God to Moses on Mt Sinai is incorporated into ancient Hebrew tradition (Ex 34:28; Dt 4:13; 10:4). The numeration of the ten commandments, however, is taken in different ways in modern times.

I. Philo, Josephus, Greek fathers modern Greek and Reformed Churches: (1) Prohibition of false or foreign gods. (2) Prohibition of images. (3) Vain use of the divine name. (4) Sabbath. (5) Parents. (6) Murder. (7) Adultery. (8) Theft. (9) False witness. (10) Covetousness.

II. This division first appears in Origen, used by Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, modern Latin church and Lutheran church: (1) Prohibition of false gods. The prohibition of images is either included in this commandment or suppressed in the enumeration. (2) Vain use of the divine name. (3) Sabbath. (4) Parents. (5) Murder. (6) Adultery. (7) Theft. (8) False witness. (9) Coveting of wife. (10) Coveting of goods.

III. Modern Jews:

(1) Introduction, "I am the Lord your God" etc. (2) Prohibition of false gods and images. (3) Vain use of the divine name. (4) Sabbath. (5) Parents. (6) Murder. (7) Adultery. (8) Theft. (9) False Witness. (10) Covetousness.

* The first of these three divisions is best according to sense, and is probably the most original. The first four commandments state

duties toward God, the final six list duties toward human beings; parents, the source of life, are representative of God. The introduction, "I am the Lord your God," etc, often enumerated as one of the commandments, is outside the commandments proper.

The differences between the recensions of Ex and Dt are shown in the above table. It is altogether probable that neither of these recensions presents the Decalogue in its original form. Most interpreters believe that all the commandments were originally as brief as the commandments of murder, adultery, theft, and false witness. The others have been expanded by the addition of homiletic motives for their observance; the table shows the probable content of the original commandment as distinguished from the additions. There is some slight difference between the two recensions in the motivation. In Ex the Sabbath commandment is supported by an appeal to creation* in six days followed by rest on the seventh, as related in Gn 1:1-2:3. In Dt the precept of rest is extended to others besides the Hebrew family proper, for the humanitarian motive that the Hebrews were once slaves in Egypt. The original form of the prohibition of covetousness, probably the simple precept of Ex (cf TABLE), has been expanded in two ways. In Ex the first expansion was the mention of the house, which covered all the neighbor's property, and the precept was further expanded by the enumeration of the

wife, slaves, and domestic animals. In Dt the first expansion was the explicit and separate mention of the wife; the precept was then extended to house, slaves, and animals. This represents a more advanced view of family life.

The formula of the direct commandment or prohibition is the type of law called "apodictic" in opposition to "casuistic" (cf LAW). Modern critics generally agree that the Decalogue in its present position in Ex is not in its original literary context; the Decalogue here is given in a priestly recension, while the surrounding context belongs to a complex tradition (cf EXODUS; PENTATEUCH). The position of the Decalogue in Dt, however, shows that the writers and editors of this book had a tradition which associated the Decalogue with the Sinai covenant*, precisely the position which the Decalogue occupies in Ex. The position of the Decalogue in Dt together with other allusions to the "ten words" (cf above), indicates the priestly recension has replaced the original older and simpler formulation.

Many older biblical critics denied that the Decalogue went back to Mosaic times. They regarded it as a summary of the ethical teaching of the prophets* of the 8th-7th centuries. This opinion was based principally on some features of the Decalogue which they thought reflected the period of Israel's settlement in Canaan rather than the seminomadic conditions of the Mosaic period: for instance, the allusions to house and field, ox and ass. Likewise the prohibition of images was thought to date only from the 8th or 7th century, and the Sabbath likewise was not a nomadic observance. Modern discoveries have removed most of the weight of these objections (cf IMAGES; SABBATH). The recension of Dt no doubt belongs to the period of the monarchy; but the Decalogue itself can be centuries earlier than this recension. It is true that there is no explicit citation of the Decalogue in later biblical literature; but this is not really convincing. The attribution of the Decalogue to the Mosaic period does not imply its attribution to Moses himself, although he is the most likely candidate. Nor does this attribution imply that the story of the stone tablets written by the finger of God (Ex 34:12; Dt 5:22) and then rewritten by Moses (Ex 34:28) is any more than a highly imaginative way of stating the divine origin and authority of the Decalogue. The prohibitions of false gods and of images are highly distinctive features of Israelite religion, and tradition constantly attributes these features to Moses (cf GOD; IMAGES).

The prohibition of the vain use of the divine name is probably directed against

the use of the name in magic*. On the understanding of the other commandments in ancient Israel cf FAMILY; MARRIAGE; MURDER; SABBATH; THEFT. The prohibition of false witness as it stands refers to juridical processes. The prohibition of covetousness, which is concerned with the interior act, has often been thought to be both morally and psychologically too subtle for primitive Israelite belief. This is not convincing; no great subtlety was required to see that the inner desire was the root of wrongdoing. But the prohibition of such malicious desire is distinctive of Israelite morality at any period in which one supposes the Decalogue to have arisen.

Some modern critics believe they have discovered a cultic decalogue in Ex 34:14-26, which may be divided as follows: I. 14. II. 17. III. 18. IV. 19-20. V. 21. VI. 22. VII. 23-24. VIII. 25. IX-X. 26. Actually there are more than ten commandments in this passage, and the number ten can be reached only by some manipulation. Many critics, realizing this, have reconstructed a primitive cultic decalogue from this and other related passages, and they propose that this cultic decalogue is indicated by the "ten words" of Ex 34:28. It has in common with the Decalogue of Ex-Dt the prohibition of worshipping other gods (34:14), images (34:17), the Sabbath (34:21). Cf also Lv 19:3 f, 11 f; Je 7:9; Ho 4:2.

The separate commandments are mentioned in the NT but never as ten. The prohibitions of murder (Mt 5:21) and adultery (Mt 5:27) in the Sermon on the Mount are cited parallel with Dt 24:1 (Mt 5:31), a conflation of Ex 20:7, Nm 30:3, and Dt 23:22 (Mt 5:33), Ex 21:24 (Mt 5:38), and Lv 19:18 (Mt 5:43) in the same manner. This is the Law which Jesus came not to destroy but to fulfill, and all the citations come from the Torah, the supreme authority of Judaism (cf LAW). Ex 20:12 is cited in Mt 15:4; Eph 6:2-3. Dt 5:17-21 is cited in Rm 13:9; Ex 20:13 f (Dt 5:17 f) in Js 2:11. The young man who asked Jesus how to be perfect was told to keep the commandments. When he asked which commandments, Jesus cited some of the ten, not in the usual order nor completely. In Mt 19:18-19 are found murder, adultery, theft, false witness, honor of parents, and there is added the precept of loving the neighbor as oneself (Lv 19:18). In Mk 10:19 the same precepts are mentioned with the omission of the love of one's neighbor and the addition of the precept not to defraud, based on Dt 24:14. In Lk 18:20 the precepts of adultery, murder, theft, false witness, and honor of parents are cited. These passages suggest that even in gospel times the Decalogue

had not acquired the set form and importance as a charter of fundamental morality it acquired in later Christianity.

Decapolis (Gk *dekapolis*, "ten cities"), the name given to the territory extending in eastern Palestine from Damascus* in the N to Philadelphia* in the S. The name designates a league of ten cities formed after the Roman conquest of Palestine in 63 BC. The ten cities were Hellenistic and probably formed the league not only because of their frontier position on the desert but also to protect themselves against Jewish immigration and aggression. Some of the cities had been conquered by Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BC). The territory of the Decapolis spread over several other jurisdictions of the period; it probably did not constitute a single contiguous territory. The league was a federation of free cities, each with its surrounding territory, under the general administration of the Roman legate of Syria. The earliest literary mention of the Decapolis is found in the Gospels. The cities are also mentioned by Josephus and Pliny the Elder. Pliny lists the ten as Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis*, Gadara*, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Gerasa*, and Canatha. All the Palestinian cities except Scythopolis lay on the eastern side of the Jordan. In the 2nd century AD Ptolemy names 18 cities, omitting Raphana but including Abila and 8 others. The number was not constant. Modern scholars believe Abila was one of the original 10. People came from the Decapolis to hear Jesus (Mt 4:25), and Jesus performed a miracle of healing in the territory of the Decapolis (Mk 7:31). The demoniac who was cured on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee* announced Jesus in the territory of the Decapolis (Mk 5:20).

Dedan (Hb *dēdān*, meaning uncertain), an Arabian tribe. Its origin is attributed to Ham through Cush* and Raamah* (Gn 10:7; 1 Ch 1:9); also to Abraham* and Keturah* through Jokshan* (Gn 25:3; 1 Ch 1:32). It is mentioned together with Sheba* (Gn 25:3; 1 Ch 1:32; Ezk 38:13), with Tema* (Is 21:13–14; Je 25:23), with the peoples who must drink the cup of wrath, here included among those who wear their hair clipped at the temples, and with Buz (Je 25:23). Its territory lay in northern Arabia bordering on Edom* (Je 49:8; Ezk 25:13). They were caravan merchants (Is 21:13) who traded with Tyre* (Ezk 27:20). The sons of Dedan who traded with Tyre (Ezk 27:5) are confused with the sons of Rodan (Rhodes*) by a textual error.

Dedication, feast of (Hb *h^anukkāh*), the

feast instituted to celebrate the recovery and purification of the temple* from the Syrians by Judas* in 165 BC. At the time of the recovery the feast was instituted to be celebrated for eight days each year, beginning with the 25th of Kislev* (1 Mc 4:52–59; 2 Mc 10:6–8). The month of Kislev falls roughly within December of the Julian calendar and brings the feast near Christmas; and in modern Judaism it is celebrated in a joyous atmosphere with an exchange of gifts. It is frequently called the Feast of Lights from the practice of illuminating homes and streets; this title appears in the writings of Josephus*.

Delilah (Hb *dēlīlāh*), the mistress of Samson* who betrayed him to the Philistines* by cutting off his hair while he slept (Jgs 16:4–20). A. Vincent suggests that the name is derived from the Arabic and contains a pun derived from two words from the same root: *dalla*, "to behave in an amorous manner," and *dalila*, "a guide," here betrayer. Her residence in the valley of Sorek* would permit her to be either Hebrew or Philistine, but the narrative suggests that she was a Hebrew.

Deluge. The story of the deluge is found in Gn 6:5–9:17. This story is compiled from the Yahwist (J) and priestly traditions (P) interwoven into the present single account (cf GENESIS; PENTATEUCH). Some variations in details in the two traditions are easily discerned in the present narrative. In J seven pairs of clean animals and of birds and one pair of unclean animals are taken into the ark* (Gn 7:2–3), in P a single pair of all species (Gn 7:8–9). In J the flood endures for 40 days of rain (Gn 7:12); the 40 days of Gn 7:17 is thought by most modern critics to be a gloss to provide for the abatement of the flood. In P the entire flood endures for one year and 11 days (Gn 7:11; 8:14). The waters rise for 150 days (Gn 7:24) and recede for another 150 days (Gn 8:3), and the earth is not dry enough for Noah* to leave the ark until the end of the whole period. P also exhibits other mathematical precisions besides the duration of the flood: the dimensions of the ark, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide, 30 cubits high (Gn 6:15), and the height of the water above the mountains, 15 cubits (Gn 7:20, calculated on the height of the ark). The two traditions differ also in their conception of the catastrophe. In J the deluge is the result of an excessive rain of 40 days and 40 nights. In P the deluge is a result of the collapse of the entire cosmos. The waters of the primitive abyss, which are divided in creation* into the waters of the lower abyss beneath the earth and the

waters of the upper abyss above the earth (Gn 1:7), now return to cover the entire creation and bring back the chaos of Gn 1:2. The waters of the upper abyss enter through the broken windows or sluices of heaven and the waters of the lower abyss through the burst fountains, from which they normally issue at a moderate rate (Gn 7:11). This conception of a collapse of cosmic order is paralleled in the Mesopotamian deluge stories (cf below). Other passages in which the double tradition appears without notable variation are the decree of the flood (Gn 6:5-7, J; 6:11-13, P) and the story of the covenant* of God with Noah after the deluge (Gn 8:21-22, J; 9:1-17, P). Of these two traditions critics regard J as the older, perhaps from the 9th or 10th century BC, and P as more recent, from the 6th or 5th. P, however, in some features is more archaic and closer to the original form of the story. In both traditions the deluge was a universal catastrophe covering the entire earth as it was conceived by the ancients (cf CREATION) and destroying all life, human and animal, except that which was preserved in the ark.

Accounts of a universal deluge have been found in Mesopotamian literature. Several varieties of the Mesopotamian story are known; the longest and the best preserved appears in the XI tablet of the Gilgamesh* epic (ANET 93-95). The hero of the deluge is called Ut-napishtim, a resident of Shurippak on the Euphrates. When the gods decree the deluge, the god Ea reveals the decree to Ut-napishtim, protecting his obligation of secrecy by speaking not directly to Ut-napishtim but to a reed wall through which Ut-napishtim hears him. He is admonished to build a boat, described as a cube 10 dozen cubits on a side. The ark of Gn is rectangular, and is neither a ship nor a boat, but a large box. Ut-napishtim is warned to take ample provisions as well as "the beasts of the field, the wild creatures of the field," and this is similar to the preservation of animal species in Gn. In addition Ut-napishtim is to take craftsmen aboard lest their crafts perish entirely, and a boatman to navigate the vessel. The deluge lasts for six days and six nights, and the ark of Ut-napishtim comes to rest on Mount Nisir. Like Noah, Ut-napishtim sends forth birds—a dove, a swallow, and a raven—and leaves the ark when the raven fails to return. Like Noah, Ut-napishtim offers a sacrifice; and the gods cluster about it like flies. Instead of a covenant there follows a dispute among the gods. Enlil, angry that any one has escaped, inquires who has disclosed the secret. Ea confesses, but questions the wisdom of Enlil in sending a deluge.

On the sinner, he says, should be imposed his sin, and on the transgressor his transgression. Instead of such a universal disaster Enlil should have sent a wolf or a lion or a famine or pestilence, which would not have wiped out the entire race. Because Ut-napishtim and his wife have escaped the deluge they must now be given immortality and removed to a distant land at the mouth of the rivers where they will not mingle with common mortal men. The dispute of the gods is a piece of primitive Mesopotamian theology which attempts to explain such catastrophes which wipe out large numbers of people. They are attributed to the irrational anger of the gods, who do not show wisdom by discriminating between good and bad. The instrument chosen goes far beyond the demands of divine anger. Implicitly the story questions the wisdom and goodness of the providence of the gods. In addition to this account in the poem of Gilgamesh, which comes from the library of Ashurbanipal, part of the Sumerian flood story has now been discovered (ANET 43-44). It is incomplete, but agrees with the poem of Gilgamesh in the residence of the hero, Shurippak. His name, however, is Ziusudra. He also receives immortality and resides in Dilmun, the land where the sun rises. The duration of the flood here is seven days and seven nights. A fragment of an old Babylonian flood story is preserved; the name of the hero is Atrahasis (ANET 104-106). Here the motive which moves Enlil to send the deluge is the clamor of mankind, which prevents the gods from enjoying their sleep. Finally, the Babylonian priest Berossus, about 275 BC, wrote in Gk some of the mythology of his people. In his summary account of the flood the hero is named Xisuthros, which is probably a Gk form of Ziusudra (AOT 200-201). His account contains no distinctive element.

The resemblance between these Mesopotamian accounts and the story of Gn are too numerous and too close to permit one to affirm the independence of the stories. It must be admitted, as almost all modern critics do, that the biblical story exhibits the same tradition which we find in Mesopotamian literature, although not necessarily the tradition in any particular form which has been discovered. The differences between the Mesopotamian and the biblical stories show how the Hebrews took a piece of ancient tradition and retold it in order to make it a vehicle of their own distinctive religious beliefs, in particular their conception of divine justice and providence. It is impossible to attach any historical value either to the Mesopotamian or to the biblical story. Excavations of Mesopotamian sites

have shown more than one extensive deposit of silt which testify to disastrous floods in the early periods. But floods are frequent in the vast alluvial plain of Mesopotamia, and no deposit is such as to suggest the kind of catastrophe described in the flood story, even within a limited area. Hence the flood of the Mesopotamian and biblical stories cannot be identified with any flood of which historical or archaeological evidence has been found. Even in the most ancient forms of the story the flood was described as something which happened "long ago," long before historical records. There can be little doubt that the story preserves the memory of some unusually disastrous flood of prehistoric times, which has grown out of all proportions in successive forms of the narrative—for instance, a week of rain in the earliest story to 150 days in the priestly narrative.

The connection between the Mesopotamian and the biblical stories is easily explained by the Hb tradition that their ancestors came from Mesopotamia. Thus such traditions as that of the creation and the deluge could have been preserved orally. The retelling of the tradition has been done on the basis of religious beliefs which are attributed to Mosaic and post-Mosaic times. The Hb story faces the theological problem which, as we have seen, is involved in the Mesopotamian story; but the Hebrews did not attribute the catastrophe to irrational anger. Such a disaster postulates that "all flesh was corrupt" (Gn 6:12) except Noah and his family; there can be no question of the justice of the punishment. Nor is there any difference of purpose between various gods, one decreeing the deluge, the other revealing the decree to his favorite. In Hebrew tradition the one God decrees the deluge and reveals His plan to Noah. The Mesopotamian story of the sacrifice and the quarrel of the gods which followed is replaced by the Hb story of the covenant of God with Noah. Explicitly the deluge is a destruction of creation in P; Noah is therefore a second founder of the race and creation is restored after the deluge. The commandments which are given Noah have a resemblance both in form and content to the commandments of Gn 1:28–30 (Gn 9:1–3). In addition, after the deluge man is permitted to eat not only vegetables but also flesh; but the flesh must not be eaten with the blood (Gn 9:4–5). For no reason connected with the context except the mention of blood the prohibition of murder is inserted (Gn 9:6). The covenant of God with Noah is a guarantee that the course of nature will remain stable. Thus no similar catastrophe will again occur; that is, the whole race will not be destroyed

indiscriminately. This covenant is probably an implicit reflection on the Canaanite myth of fertility, in which the victorious combat of the creative deity with the monster of chaos is annually renewed (cf CREATION). The Hb faith in the stability of nature rests on a more secure basis: the good will of the creative deity explicitly pledged by covenant. It is assured that the seasons will recur (Gn 8:22) without the necessity of any cultic myth and ritual. A sign of this stability is the rainbow (Gn 9:13–16), which is in popular belief a sign of the end of the storm. Whenever the storm occurs, fair weather will return and nature will remain within its normal cycles; and man will not again perish because of the anger of God. This covenant reflects the Hb conception of God's mercy; He is now resigned to the fact that "The inclination of man's heart is evil from his youth."

The deluge story is an extremely clear example of how the Hebrews could take popular traditions of other people, often almost entirely devoid of historical value, and retell them in such a way as to present important theological conceptions through them: here, divine justice and providence, the security and stability of nature resting on the assured good will of God to mankind in spite of the evil inclinations of man's heart (Gn 8:21).

Allusions to the deluge in the rest of the Bible are few. The covenant of God with Noah illustrates the good will of Yahweh toward Jerusalem (Is 54:9). Wisdom is praised because it saved the righteous man from the deluge (WS 10:4). Among the praises of wood, from which idols are made, is included the wood of the raft by which the hope of the world was saved (WS 14:6). Ben Sira refers to the destruction of the giants (Gn 6:1–4), although this story is not a part of the deluge narrative (BS 16:7), and enumerates Noah among the heroes of 44:1 ff (BS 44:17–18). In the Gospels the suddenness of the deluge is compared to the sudden coming of the Son of Man (Mt 24:37–39; Lk 17:26–27). Noah was saved by his faith (Heb 11:7). The deluge is an example of God's patience (1 Pt 3:20), and the waters from which Noah was saved are compared to the waters of baptism* (1 Pt 3:20). Noah was a preacher of righteousness (2 Pt 2:5).

Demas (Gk *demas*, possibly an abbreviation of Demetrius), a companion and fellow worker of Paul, mentioned with Luke* (Col 4:14), with Mark*, Aristarchus*, and Luke (Phm 24), charged with abandoning Paul during his imprisonment (2 Tm 4:10) because of his love of the world.

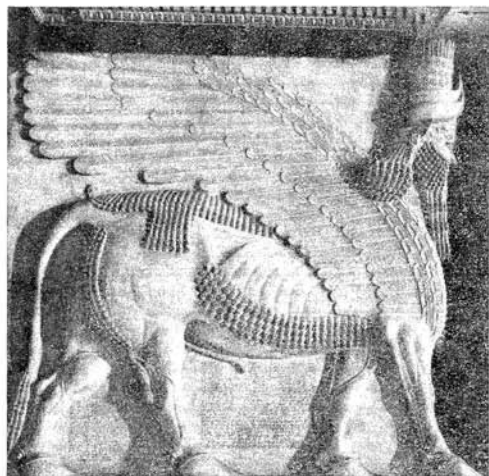
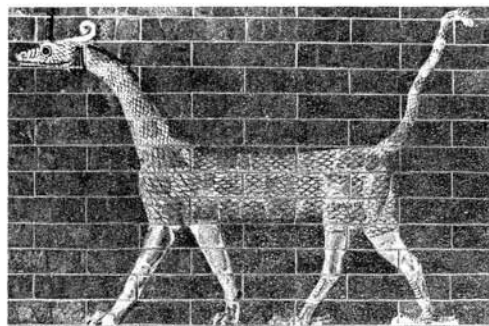
Demetrius (Gk *dēmētrios*, "belonging to Demeter"). 1. Demetrius I Soter, king of Syria 162–150 BC. A nephew of Antiochus* IV, he had been held as a hostage in Rome*. He escaped in 162 and attained the throne of Syria by the murder of his predecessor Antiochus* V Eupator and his guardian Lysias*. He installed Alcimus* as high priest of the Jews and sent his general Bacchides* to subdue Judaea. The military operations of his general Nicanor were unsuccessful and Nicanor was defeated and killed in battle (1 Mc 7:1–50; cf 2 Mc 14–15). Demetrius then sent Bacchides with a much larger army, and Judas* was killed in the defeat of the Jews (1 Mc 9:1–21). When Demetrius was threatened by the rise of a rival king Alexander* Balas, he attempted to secure the alliance of the Jews by promising to meet all their demands. The Jews, now led by Jonathan*, the younger brother of Judas, chose to support Alexander rather than accept the terms of Demetrius; and in the ensuing battle between the two rivals Demetrius was defeated and killed (1 Mc 10:1–50).

2. Demetrius II Nicator, son of Demetrius I, king of Syria 145–138 and 129–125 BC. Demetrius came from Crete to claim the throne of his father from Alexander Balas. The operations of his general Apollonius* against Jonathan* and the Jews were unsuccessful (1 Mc 10:67–89). With the aid of Ptolemy VI of Egypt* Demetrius defeated Alexander and secured the throne of Syria (1 Mc 11:1–13). Jonathan very quickly showed his allegiance to Demetrius, who in return granted some favors to the Jews (1 Mc 11:20–37): the Jews assisted him in suppressing a rebellion at Antioch (1 Mc 11:42–52). These peaceful relations were followed by an estrangement (1 Mc 11:53). Tryphon* set up the child Antiochus* as a rival to Demetrius, and Jonathan changed his allegiance to Antiochus when the young king confirmed him as high priest (1 Mc 11:57 ff). Tryphon, however, proved to be such an impossible tyrant that Simon*, the successor of Jonathan, returned to the allegiance of Demetrius, who finally promised the Jews freedom, and "the yoke of the heathen was lifted from Israel" in the 170th year of the Seleucid* era (141 BC; 1 Mc 13:1–42). The Syrian garrison of the citadel of Jerusalem was expelled in the next year (1 Mc 13:49–51). The conflict between Demetrius and Tryphon continued, and in an expedition into Parthia Demetrius was defeated and captured by Arsaces (1 Mc 14:1–3). Demetrius regained his liberty and returned to his throne in 129; but Ptolemy VII of Egypt supported an Egyptian pretender against him, and Demetrius was defeated in

battle and murdered during his subsequent flight.

3. A silversmith of Ephesus, who with other members of his guild manufactured miniature shrines of Artemis* of Ephesus. The number of converts to Christianity in Ephesus was so great that the silversmiths feared the loss of their trade. Demetrius by his harangue against the Christians incited a riot against them (AA 19:23–41).

Demon, Demonology. 1. *Mesopotamia.* The demonology of Mesopotamia, which appears in Sumerian and Akkadian literature, was extremely ancient. It influenced the Hebrews of OT times, and through the Chaldeans* entered the Hellenistic world and reached Europe; some forms of it survived into medieval and modern times. In Mesopotamia the evils of life which were less than great natural catastrophes were attributed to the evil influence of demons. Their number was almost without limit. To counteract their malice effectively the sorcerer had to know the name of the demon, and hence Mesopotamian literature contains a large number of demoniac names. From literature and art it is possible to learn the imagined character and appearance of the demons. The evil demon was an *utukku*. The group of seven evil demons appears frequently in incantations. When they attacked a man, the *ashakku* attacked the head, the *namtaru* the throat, the evil *utukku* the neck, the *alu* the chest, the *etimmu*, the evil *ilu* (god), the hand, and the *gallu* the foot. Other titles are known, such as *rabišu*, the croucher, *ahhazu*, the seizer, the three night demons *lilu* (male), *lilitu* (female), *ardai lili* (maidservant of *lilu*). These three demons belonged to the incubus-succuba type. *Pazuzu* was probably the SW wind which brought the infection of malaria. *Ashakku* is death. *Namtaru*, associated with Nergal*, the god of the underworld, was the messenger of death. *Gallu* was a hideous monster without form or feature. The *etimmu* was a ghost. The *lamashu* was an ugly and much feared monster, especially dangerous to pregnant and nursing women. Like most of the demons, its form was a mixture of human and animal features: a lion's head, a woman's body, dog's teeth, and eagle's claws on hands and feet. It held a serpent in each hand. It had an appetite for human flesh and blood, and is represented as nursing a dog and a pig at the breasts. The demons are sometimes called children of Anu, the god of the sky. In the creation* epic they are spawned by Tiamat to assist her in her combat with Marduk. They haunt graves and lonely and desert places, especially at night. Not all the demons were malevolent; the good demons, the *shedu* and



a) Demon Guardian of Gate, Babylon. b) and c) Demon Guardian of Gate of Persia. d) Demon guarding tree of life, Assyria. e) Benevolent demon, Mesopotamia.

lamassu, are invoked to repel the evil demons. These benevolent demons are represented as guardian genii at the gates of temples and palaces (cf *CHERUB*). The representation of demons in medieval Christian art comes from Mesopotamian art and literature.

2. *OT*. The severe prohibitions against magic* in Hebrew law seem to have excluded the practice and with it the belief in demonology from Israel. The belief is

not reflected in the *OT* except in allusions to popular language and a few references to superstition among the Hebrews. Thus, although Saul* had expelled all witches from Israel, he himself sought one who evoked the ghost of Samuel* (1 S 28:13), here called *elohim*, a superhuman being. A difficult verse of Is (8:19) probably refers to necromancy. The *šēdim* (Akkadian *shedu*) are mentioned in Dt 32:17 as those to whom

the Hebrews sacrificed. Here there is an identification of the gods of the nations with demons which became explicit in later Hebrew literature. Ps 106:37 mentions the sacrifice of children to the *šēdim*. Abandoned ruins are haunted by wild beasts and by dancing *se'irim* (Is 13:21; 34:14) and by *lilit* (Akkadian *lilitu*), the Lilit of Jewish apocryphal literature (Is 34:14). The *se'irim*, "hairy ones" (?), are probably demons with goats' features. There is some similarity to demonic influence in the evil spirit from Yahweh which afflicts Saul with madness (1 S 16:14). This spirit, however, is evil only in its effects and not in its character. The language of demonology may also be reflected in Ps 91:5-6: the terror of night, the arrow that flies by day, the pestilence that walks in darkness, and the plague that lays waste at noon. Against these it is Yahweh who gives protection. Cf also ASMODEUS.

3. *Judaism*. Judaism of the intertestamental and NT periods exhibits a very active belief in demons, which is in many respects derived both from Mesopotamian demonology and Greek belief in *daimones*, beings intermediate between gods and men. But in this period Hellenism itself had been affected by Mesopotamian superstitions. Beliefs about the evil influence of demons, especially in causing ills and misfortunes, were borrowed by the Jews wholesale and almost without alteration from Mesopotamia. The origin of the demons was explained by the exegesis of biblical passages; in the apocryphal books the demons are described as fallen angels. They were identified also with the sons of God who married the daughters of men (Gn 6:1-4), from which unions were sprung the giants of mythology and folklore. This exegesis was probably correct, since this passage of Gn seems to preserve a fragment of mythology of unknown origin. Satan* was identified with the serpent* of Gn 3; this belief of Judaism is reflected in WS 2:24, "By the envy of the devil sin entered the world." Thus temptation, in addition to illness and misfortune, was now attributed to demonic influence. Furthermore, the demons were believed to be organized in a kingdom under a head who is called Mastema, Beliar, or Satan.

4. *NT*. The demonology of the NT is derived both from the OT and from Judaism; but the occurrence of demons in the NT is much rarer than in the literature of Judaism, outside of the instances of demoniac possession*. The victims of heathen sacrifices are offered to demons (1 Co 10:20-21). Deceiving spirits are responsible for false teaching (1 Tm 4:1). The demons believe and

tremble (Js 2:19). The spirits of demons perform wonders (Apc 16:14). The ruins of Babylon are haunted by demons—an echo of the OT (Apc 18:2). The demons are often called spirits, especially with the adjective "unclean." A girl of Philippi had a divining spirit which was ejected by Paul (AA 16:16). The Sadducees* denied the existence of angels or spirits (AA 23:8); the distinction here possibly lies between the angels of God and the evil spirits. Christians should not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are of God (1 Jn 4:1). Demons are also called the angels of Satan, for whom eternal fire is prepared (Mt 25:41). The conception of the demonic kingdom here is parallel to the conception of Judaism. The "principalities" mentioned with angels (Rm 8:38) as separating Christians from the love of God are probably the leaders or hierarchical powers of the demonic world. The same demonic hierarchies seem to be indicated in the "principality" (*archē*), "authority" (*exūsia*), and "power" (*dynamis*) which Christ subdues to His Father (1 Co 15:24); cf the same group of words in Eph 1:21; 3:10; 6:12, where they are clearly identified as the rulers of this darkness, the wicked spiritual beings on high, with whom the Christian must wrestle. Possibly the same beings are meant in Col 1:16 among the beings created in heaven and on earth. Here the words "thrones" and "lordships" are added. It is scarcely possible, however, that the "principality" and "authority" of which Christ is the head (Col 2:10) could be the demonic powers. But it is "principalities" and "authorities" whom Christ disarms by His crucifixion (Col 2:15). Likewise, angels, authorities, and powers are subdued to Christ (1 Pt 3:22). The angels whom Christians will judge are probably demons (1 Co 6:3). Paul attributes some physical infirmity to an angel of Satan (2 Co 12:7). Jd 6 refers to angels who did not keep their principality, but fell and are now bound and preserved for the great judgment; this echoes Jewish apocryphal literature.

The question arises to what extent the NT employs the language and imagery of mythology to personify evil. The question is more or less the same question which arises from the biblical use of popular language to describe natural phenomena (cf CREATION). Such popular language implies no dogmatic or philosophical affirmation of cosmic personal forces of evil. Such language, the origins of which can be traced in Jewish writings, seems to lie behind AA 16:16; 1 Co 10:20; Apc 16:4; 18:2; the demonic kingdom of Mt 25:41; Rm 8:38; 1 Co 15:24; Eph 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col 2:15; 1 Pt 3:22;

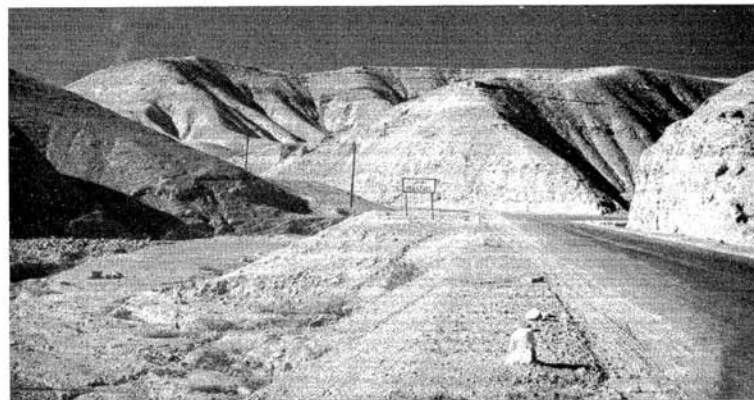
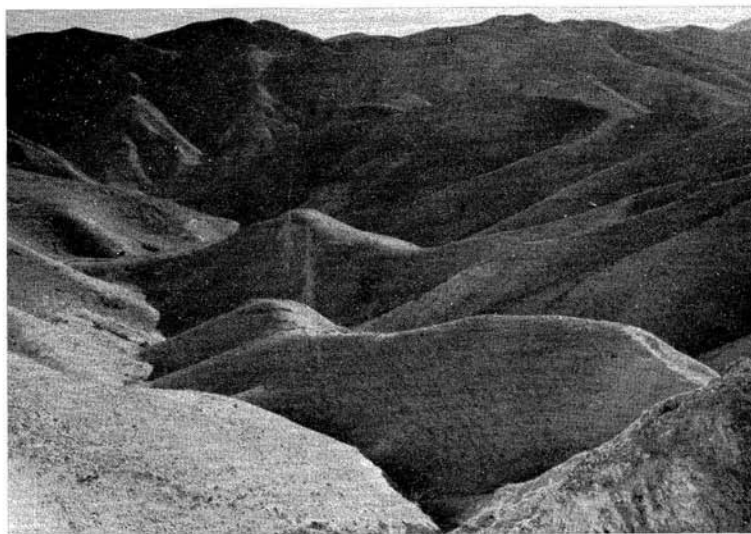
the attribution of infirmity to an evil spirit (2 Co 12:7); the great judgment of the demons (Jd 6), and probably 1 Co 6:3. But while the use of popular imagery should be understood to lie behind many details of the NT concept of demons, the Church has always taught the existence of personal evil spirits, insisting that they are malicious through their own will and not through their creation. Cf also POSSESSION; SATAN.

Derbe (Gk *derbē*), a city of Lycaonia* on the road to Iconium* from Tarsus*. It is not mentioned before the records of the Roman period. It was held by the kingdom of Galatia* until it passed under Roman suzerainty in 25 BC and was incorporated into the Roman province of Galatia under Claudius*. Paul and Barnabas made a number of disciples there (AA 14:20 f), but no incident is recorded either of Paul's first or second visit (AA 16:1).

Descent into hell. The articles of the Christian creed include the statement that Jesus died and was buried, descended into hell, and rose from the dead on the third day. The phrase "descended into hell" rests upon the language of the OT. "Hell" here represents the Hb Sheol*, the abode of the dead. The concept of Sheol in the OT implies no reward or punishment and no distinction between the state of the good and the wicked. In the OT "to die" is "to descend into Sheol" and one who rises from the dead rises from Sheol. A different concept is presupposed in Lk 23:43, where Jesus tells the penitent thief, "Today you will be with me in Paradise*." Peter applies to Jesus the text of Ps 16:10, "You do not abandon me to Sheol, nor permit your beloved one to see the pit." So God has dissolved the "pangs" of death* because death cannot have power over Jesus. "Pangs" here quotes the LXX mistranslation of the Hb "bonds" (AA 2:24-31). This text asserts no more than the reality of the death of Jesus, and consequently of the resurrection. In 1 Pt 3:19 f, however, it is stated that Jesus went to those who were kept in prison and there "announced" or "declared" to them; the verb has no object. Some MSS insert Enoch* here as the preacher. These were unbelievers in the days of Noah. It is difficult to erect on this verse a theory that Jesus descended into hell or the limbo of the fathers and there announced deliverance, since there is no indication that those who were unbelievers in the days of Noah have changed from unbelief to faith; hence they have no prospect of sharing in the salvation of Jesus. The declaration here seems to be an announcement of the triumph of Jesus over sin and

death. In 1 Pt 4:6 the good news is brought to those who have died, in order that they who were judged in the flesh according to men may live in the spirit according to God. There is no suggestion that this announcement is made by Jesus Himself. The dead here are not the unbelievers. Paul (Rm 10:6 f) combines quotations from Dt 30:12 and Ps 107:26 and asks who has ascended to bring Christ down, or who has descended into the abyss to raise Christ from the dead. Here also there is a reference to the reality of the death of Christ. In Eph 4:8 f, Ps 68:19 is applied to Christ. Here the ascent mentioned in the Ps is contrasted with the descent of Christ "into the lower parts of the earth." It is uncertain here whether the descent into the lower parts of the earth refers simply to the incarnation or to the death and burial of Jesus. "First-born of the dead" (Col 1:18) certainly refers to the resurrection of Jesus, but implies nothing of a descent. Jesus gave the Pharisees the sign of Jonah (Mt 12:40): as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights. This is a reference to His burial. In most of these passages there is a simple employment of the language of Judaism, which conceived the heavens as the abode of God, and Sheol, the abode of the dead, as beneath the surface of the earth. This childlike view of the structure of the universe is not involved in the belief in the death, resurrection* and ascension* of Jesus. The passages quoted all affirm the reality of the death of Jesus in terms of a descent into Sheol. Christian traditions about the "harrowing of hell," the liberating visit of Jesus to the limbo of the fathers and their accompanying Him in His resurrection, have no basis in the NT.

Desert. The desert surrounds Palestine on the E and the S, and within the country itself there are some semiarid uninhabited areas to which the name of desert is given in the Bible. Very little of the desert in the immediate neighborhood of Palestine is the waste of sand and stone which the name usually suggests. Most of it has a covering of grass after the rains which permits the pasture of flocks. It is the desert to the S which is described in Dt 8:15 as "great and terrible, with venomous serpents and scorpions and thirsty arid ground." The three Hb words for desert describe different types. *Midbar*, frequently translated "steppe" in modern Bibles, is the semiarid plain with a grassy covering; *ʿābāh* and *yāsimôn* both describe an arid waste of sand and rock. The Syrian desert to the E is infrequently mentioned in the OT. The deserts to the S are distinguished



a) Desert of Judah
between Jerusalem and
Jericho.
b) Desert of Judah at
sea level.

by geographical names; cf ETHAM; KADESH; PARAN; SHUR; ZIN. Within the country itself the desert of Judah is frequently mentioned. This is the area of the declivity from the central range down to the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan. Within the desert of Judah are mentioned the deserts of Netophah* and Tekoa*. The desert of Judah in its lower reaches is a wild and utterly barren region. In the NT "desert" sometimes means a region with few or no inhabitants (Mt 14:13; 15:33; Mk 1:45; 6:31; Lk 4:42).

The cultural influence of the desert on the Bible cannot be overestimated. Like the sea, the desert is both a barrier and a means of communication. The Israelites themselves were always aware of their desert background, and certain features of the semi-nomadic life of the desert leave their traces through the entire OT. The sharp contrast

between the "Desert" and the "Sown" and the two manners of life of the two regions (cf NOMAD) leads to constant friction and often to open feuds. The desert is a perpetual reminder of the reality of danger, hardship, and death, and it is often alluded to in Hb imagery. The desert was a refuge of fugitives and bandits like David* and his men. To lose one's way in the desert was almost certain death (Jb 6:18 ff). The wrath of Yahweh turns the garden land into a desert (Je 4:26). It is a land unsown (Ho 2:2), a parched land without water (Ho 2:3), a haunt of demons and dangerous wild animals (Is 13:20; 30:6).

The desert is important in the religious conceptions and imagery of Israel. Israel first met Yahweh in the desert, and the story of the desert wandering remains the type of the encounter of man with God. Subsequently in OT and NT the desert is the

place where man meets God, particularly in a crisis. Israel felt that it could not have survived the passage through the desert were it not for the protection of Yahweh (Dt 8:14 ff; Je 2:6). It was in the desert that Israel was tested and failed, and Yahweh will lead Israel back into the desert in order to speak to her directly and recover her love (Ho 2:16). When Yahweh comes to redeem His people, the desert will rejoice and blossom (Is 35:1 f), an allusion to the abundant flowers which carpet the desert floor after the spring rain. The NT allusions to the desert experience of Israel are frequent. It is mentioned as a time of testing and failure (AA 7:41 ff; 1 Co 10:5; Heb 3:8 ff). It is a type of the Christian experience (1 Co 10:11). But the desert experience was also a time when Israel found favor with Yahweh (AA 7:36; 13:18). Elijah* also met God in the desert (1 K 19:8 ff). This desert motif reappears in the NT. John the Baptist began his preaching in the desert (Mt 3:1; Lk 3:2), and Jesus passed forty days of prayer and fasting in the desert before He began His public ministry. This was for Him also a time of temptation* (Mt 4:1 ff; Mk 1:12 ff; Lk 4:1 ff). The period which Paul* spent in Arabia after his conversion (Gal 1:17) was probably a sojourn in the desert. In Apc 12:6 + 14 the woman flees from the serpent to a place prepared by God in the desert.

Deuterocanonical. The name given by Sixtus of Siena (1528–1569) to those books of the Bible whose place in the canon* was at some time denied or doubted in the Church. Cf CANON.

Deuteronomy. The fifth of the five books of Moses. The word is derived from the LXX translation of the words "copy of this law," *deuteronomion* (Dt 17:18).

1. *Contents.* I. After some historical data, which place the scene in the steppes of Moab* just before the Israelites* cross the Jordan* into Canaan* (1:1–5) there follows the first introductory discourse (1:5–4:40). This discourse contains a review of the events from Sinai*–Horeb* through the wandering in the desert to the scene of the discourse (1:5–3:29). This is followed by an exhortation to keep the law which Moses is about to promulgate (4:1–40).

II. After two detached historical notices describing the establishment of cities of refuge E of the Jordan (4:41–43) and another introduction going over much the same ground as the first (4:41–49) there follows the second introductory discourse, which is another exhortation to keep the law (5:1–11:32). This discourse contains

the decalogue* (5:6–21), a description of the covenant scene of Sinai–Horeb (5:22–33), an exhortation to the love of Yahweh (6:4–9) and to keep the law, to avoid contact with the Canaanites (7:1–11), to have confidence in the power of Yahweh to give them the land of Canaan (7:17–26) based on their experience of His providence during the wandering in the desert (8:1–9:6). There is a review of the infidelity of Israel in the desert (9:7–29) and an account of the making of the ark (10:1–11), and various exhortations (10:12–11:32).

III. The code of laws of Deuteronomy (12–26); cf LAW.

IV. Conclusion of the code. Various injunctions (27:1–7), formulae of curses (27:9–26) and of blessings (28:1–14), another formula of curses (28:15–68), concluding discourse (29:2–30:20), closing words of Moses to Israel and commission to Joshua* (31:1–8), commission of the law to the Levite* priests with a prescription for its reading every seven years (31:9–13), second commission to Joshua (31:14–23), command to write the song which follows and its commission to the Levites (31:16–30), the song of Moses (32:1–43), another injunction of Moses to Israel (32:45–47), words of Yahweh to Moses (32:48–52), blessing of the 12 tribes by Moses (33), death and burial of Moses (34:1–12).

The book has a distinctive style which is easily recognized. It is full and oratorical, exhibiting a number of favorite set phrases which recur constantly. The homiletic tone even runs through the code of laws, in contrast to the style of the other Hb legal codes. Certain dominant theological ideas are emphasized by repetition: the election of Israel by Yahweh to be His people, the importance of observing the laws and statutes which Moses promulgates in the name of Yahweh, the utter repudiation not only of foreign gods, in particular the gods of the Canaanites, but also of all contact with foreign peoples (this ferocity toward the Canaanites is in contrast with the broad humanitarian tone exhibited throughout the code toward fellow Israelites and foreigners resident in Israel); the worship of Yahweh by sacrifice at one designated place of cult, by which Jerusalem is meant, although it is not named, and the joy of observing the laws of Yahweh and of celebrating His festivals; confidence in the power of Yahweh, whose own activity rather than Israelite strength or force of arms has carried Israel through the wilderness and establishes it in the promised land; the power in nature of Yahweh, the giver of fertility, who disposes of such natural means of sustaining life as rain, an implicit polemic

against the worship of the fertility gods of Canaan.

2. *Origin and Composition of the Book.* Modern critics agree that the Mosaic background of the discourses and of the code is fictitious, and that the origin of the book lies in a later period. It is almost universally agreed that at least the code of laws was the book found in the temple* during the reign of Josiah* by the priest Hilkiah* (2 K 22:8-30). The religious reforms of Josiah have a number of points of relation with the code of Dt (2 K 23:1-24). Most modern critics are inclined to believe that this code contained the legal traditions of the northern kingdom (cf ISRAEL), and a number of scholars think that Shechem* was the principal legal center of the N. With the fall of Israel in 721 BC this collection was taken to Jerusalem. The origin of the laws and their collection and preservation is thought to be principally the work of the Levite priests who are mentioned so frequently in Dt. The code which was found in the temple by Hilkiah was probably not entirely the work of the Levite priests, but of the priests of Jerusalem, since it is scarcely possible to suppose that the law of one sanctuary and other changes in cultic procedure from earlier codes such as the code of the covenant (cf LAW) could have originated in any place other than Jerusalem. It seems quite unlikely that such a code would have lacked an introductory discourse, and this must be one of the two discourses which are found in the present book. Cazelles is of the opinion that the second introductory discourse is the earlier and accompanied the original code. Against this view is the fact that the second discourse contains no historical material except an account of the events at Sinai-Horeb (cf above). The first discourse, on the contrary, contains no historical material earlier than the departure from Sinai-Horeb; and Eissfeldt's suggestion that the first discourse is preserved incompletely has much in its favor. It seems unlikely also that the historical introduction would not have contained an account of the events of the exodus from Egypt more extensive than the allusion in 11:3-4, however summary it may have been. But in spite of the difficulty of distinguishing the two introductory discourses clearly, Cazelles's hypothesis that they represent two different editions of the book, one prepared before the reform of Josiah, possibly under Hezekiah, and the second during the Exile*, is probable.

The conclusion of the book (27-34) exhibits a confusing series of additions whose relations with each other are not easy to discern. The concluding discourses of Moses (29:2-30:20) with the introductory verse

(29:1) is a counterpiece to the introductory discourses. Rather obvious references to the Exile suggest that this discourse belongs to the second edition of the book. In Cazelles's theory it is a companion to the first introductory discourse. In 27:1 ff it is quite probable, as Nielsen suggests, that the words of the code have replaced in the tradition the original instruction of the covenant formula, since the writing of the code on whitewashed stones is, as Nielsen indicates, extremely impractical. The formulae of curses and blessings also exhibit repetition and duplication. The first formula of cursing (27:11-26) has no counterpart in the blessings. 28 contains two corresponding formulae of blessing and curses; the curses are almost twice as long as the blessings. This is probably due to expansion beginning at 28:46, which seems to be a conclusion of the curse formula, and the following verses are again obvious allusions to the Exile. The first formula of cursing, in which the 12 tribes stand in groups of 6, is referred to also in 11:26-32 and in Jos 8:33, the execution of the commission. The two allusions in Dt must be independent of each other, and the story of the execution most probably depends on the presence of the commission in Dt.

It is unlikely that any of the material after 31:14 belongs to the original book, and it serves as a conclusion to the Pnt* as a whole. The other traditions of the Pnt are found in these passages. Certainly neither the song of Moses (32) nor the blessing of the 12 tribes (33) was a part of the original compilation of Dt. On the relations of Dt to the other Pnt traditions cf PENTATEUCH.

The work of edition and compilation which produced Dt also had effects on the other historical books of the OT from Dt onwards. Practically no effects of this work appear in the first four books of the Pnt. But the language, style, and theological ideas of Dt, in particular the rather strict ideas of temporal reward and punishment for keeping the law, are reflected in the subsequent historical books down to the end of 2 K. Hence Martin Noth, followed by a number of modern scholars, has proposed that the books from Jos to the end of 2 K form a "Deuteronomistic history," a companion to the first four books of the Pnt. The history was compiled during and after the Exile by the same group of editors who compiled the final edition of Dt. This opinion does not mean that the Deuteronomistic editors composed the history; they employed existing literary material which for the most part exhibits no trace of Deuteronomistic thought or language. The arrangement of the material, however, particularly in Jos* and 1-2 K*, often brings out the theological ideas of Dt, which are

made explicit in the editorial passages. The actual traditions of the books come from older sources. This history dealt with the events from the conquest and settlement to the fall of the monarchy.

Devil. Cf DEMON; SATAN.

Dew. Moisture brought in from the sea by the W winds condenses at night and falls in abundance as dew in Palestine during the dry months of the year. The dew falls suddenly; the attack of an army is compared to it (2 S 17:12). It is sufficiently abundant to saturate a fleece (Jgs 6:38). The dew is the only source of moisture in the atmosphere during the rainy season, and its failure during a drought is disastrous (1 K 17:1). The curse of David upon Mount Gilboa* asks that neither rain nor dew may fall upon it (2 S 1:21). Abundant dew is a blessing (Gn 27:28) which comes from heaven (Dt 33:28) or from Yahweh (Mi 5:6). The dew disappears quickly after sunrise, so that the covenant loyalty of Ephraim* is compared to the morning dew (Ho 6:4).

Diaspora (Gk *diaspora*, "dispersion"). This word became a technical term for Jewish communities settled outside Palestine during the last century BC and the 1st century AD. The settlement of Hebrews outside Palestine began with the deportation of Israelites by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings in the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries BC. All of these Hebrew communities lost their identity and were absorbed by the surrounding population, except the community established in Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the source of the resettlement of Jerusalem under Cyrus* in the late 6th century. The Jewish community at Babylon became large and prosperous and retained its identity into the Middle Ages. Jewish communities were settled in Egypt as early as the 6th century BC. The precise date of the settlement is uncertain, but the Jewish colony of Elephantine* was certainly there before the Persian conquest in 525 BC. Under the rule of the Ptolemies* conditions were favorable for Jewish immigration into Egypt, and Egypt became the largest, richest, and most influential center of Judaism outside Palestine. By the 1st century AD Jews were numerous and well established at Alexandria*, where one quarter of the city was entirely Jewish and a separate self-governing municipality.

The beginnings of Jewish communities elsewhere cannot be traced. It seems unlikely that there were any Jews in Antioch* before the middle of the 2nd century BC.

The list of cities and islands in 1 Mc 13:23 where Jews resided is thought by many scholars to refer not to the period of the book but to the time of the reedition of the book in the second half of the 1st century BC. By the beginning of the Christian era it is certain that Jews were settled in Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Greece, and Italy, and during the first half of the 1st century AD Jewish settlements are known in about 150 places within and outside the Roman empire. The number of Jews in the Diaspora is estimated in the millions; some scholars believe they numbered between 8 percent and 10 percent of the total population of the Roman empire. Parthians, Medes, Elamites, residents of Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Cyrene, Rome, Crete, and Arabia are mentioned as pilgrims to Jerusalem (AA 2:9-10). Many cities with Jewish synagogues* are mentioned in AA and the epistles (cf PAUL and separate articles). Paul's intention to visit Spain suggests the existence of a Jewish colony there, otherwise unattested for this period.

Judaism of the Diaspora was almost entirely urban and was heavily concentrated in the larger centers such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. Most of the Jews of the Diaspora were merchants and craftsmen and consequently in the upper economic levels. Their position in the Hellenistic monarchies and in the Roman empire was quite favorable. It was the policy of these governments to grant freedom to private religious associations. The Jews did not always possess full rights of citizenship, but they usually enjoyed privileges granted because of their commercial importance, also because of their customary orderly behavior, which made them equal to the average citizens, if indeed they were not better off. Because of their religious beliefs they were exempted from compulsory military service, and were permitted to pay a tax to support the temple* of Jerusalem. Under Julius Caesar (+ 44 BC) the policy of conferring Roman citizenship throughout the empire was initiated. Many Jews, among them, Paul, possessed this right.

The Jews of the Diaspora regarded Jerusalem as their spiritual capital and looked to it for religious leadership. Likewise they probably had little acquaintance with Hb except for the recitation of a few daily prayers. The need of a translation resulted in the Aramaic targums* and the Gk LXX*. As many Jews as were able made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem to celebrate one of the three great annual feasts.

Relations between the Jews of the Diaspora and their neighbors were not always good;

the causes of this were varied. Sometimes the poorer masses of the cities were envious of Jewish success and prosperity. Sometimes hostility was aroused by the peculiar practices of Judaism, Jewish exclusivism, and the unconcealed contempt of the Jews for pagan superstition and immorality. This hostility was expressed in literature (Posidonius of Apamea, Apollonius Molo, Cicero, Seneca, Persius, Quintilian, Statius, Juvenal, Tacitus). The favor of the Roman emperors ended with the accession of Caligula in AD 37. He permitted severe persecution of the Jews of Alexandria, and ordered his own divine image to be erected in the temple of Jerusalem; the execution of the decree was prevented by his assassination in AD 41. Riots between Jews and the citizens of Alexandria were frequent and mutual hostility was a chronic condition. Riots also occurred at Antioch, and the Jews were expelled from Rome by Claudius*. The Jewish communities were used by Paul as points of departure on his missionary expeditions, and in all probability other apostles* followed the same policy. In the NT the word appears in the technical sense ("diaspora of the Greeks," Jn 7:35). The expression "Greeks" is applied in Jn 12:20 to non-Palestinian Jews. The meaning of the word in the superscriptions of Js 1:1 and 1 Pt 1:1 is not entirely clear, and interpreters give different explanations. The address of James to the 12 tribes of the diaspora seems most probably directed to Jewish Christians outside Palestine; the Jewish expression is adapted to those members of the community who do not reside in what was still the central city of primitive Christianity. The address of 1 Pt is less obviously directed to Jewish Christians. Here the elect who sojourn in the diaspora of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia are probably Christians, Jewish or not, who live outside Palestine and are thus designated by the Jewish term for the world outside Palestine.

Dibon (Hb *dîbôn*, Arabic *dhiban*), 40 mi S of Amman on the highway to Kerak. The name and the site are accepted as identical with the biblical Dibon. Dibon was included in the territory N of the Arnon* which was taken from Moab* by Sihon*, king of the Amorites* (Nm 21:26-30). It was included in the territory claimed by the tribes of Reuben* and Gad* and was fortified by the men of Gad (Nm 32:3, 34); it is once called Dibon-Gad (Nm 33:45-46; cf also Jos 13:9, 17). By the time of the composition of Is 15:2 and Je 48:18, 22 Dibon was once again Moabite. The discovery of the Moabite Stone of Mesha*, king of Moab, on this site has led modern scholars

to conclude that the site is identical with the city of QRHH mentioned in the Moabite Stone as the capital city of Mesha which he took from the Israelites and rebuilt and fortified. The name Dibon is absent from the stone, probably because Mesha gave the city a new name when he captured it to signify his victory; but the old name persisted. The site was excavated by the American Schools of Oriental Research 1950-1952. The excavators discovered a series of five city walls, but it was impossible to assign an absolute date to any of them. Remains of a Nabatean* building which became in turn the foundation of a Roman building not earlier than the 2nd century AD and of a Byzantine church which incorporated some of the structure of the Roman building were discovered. No certain traces of Moabite buildings or occupation were found except some tombs with pottery which could be dated to the 9th century BC, the period of Mesha. The excavators concluded that the walled cities and the main occupation remains of the Iron Age and earlier lie to the N of the site excavated. Cf BASOR 125, p 7 ff; 133, p 6 ff.

Dinah (Hb *dînāh*, perhaps "suit at law"), daughter of Jacob and Leah*, whose rape by Shechem* was bloodily avenged by her brothers Simeon* and Levi* (Gn 30:21; 34:1 ff).

Dionysius (Gk *dionysios*, "belonging to [the god] Dionysus"), an Athenian, a member of the council of the Areopagus*, one of the few who accepted Christianity when Paul preached at Athens (AA 17:34). A tradition of doubtful historical value makes him the first bishop of Athens. A number of theological writings were attributed to him by the Fathers and the medieval theologians, none of which are earlier than the 4th or 5th century AD.

Diotrephes (Gk *diotrephēs*, "nourished by Zeus"), a member of the church of which the author of 3 Jn speaks in his letter to Gaius, a member of the same church. Diotrephes appears to be in authority in the church, since he refuses to receive the brothers, and expels those who wish to receive them. He is described as loving the first place (3 Jn 9-10).

Disciple. The term disciple, Gk *mathētēs*, occurs about 250 times in the NT. Most of these occurrences refer to the disciples of Jesus. The relation of Jesus and His disciples was in many respects similar to the relation of the Jewish rabbi* and his disciples. The rabbis or teachers of the law gathered about

themselves disciples to whom they transmitted their doctrine. These in turn could hope to become rabbis under his instruction, and add to the tradition which they received. The Jewish teachers and disciples are referred to in the phrase "disciples of the Pharisees" (Mt 22:16; Mk 2:18; Lk 5:33), although the phrase is used loosely here, since the Pharisees* as such were not rabbis and had no disciples. However, most of the scribes* or rabbis were members of the sect of the Pharisees. The Pharisees called themselves disciples of Moses (Jn 9:28), attaching themselves thereby to the man who was conceived as the first in the chain of the teachers of the law. The Jews themselves looked upon Jesus as a rabbi with His disciples, and the title rabbi was often given Him both by the disciples and by others. The followers of John* the Baptist, who made no pretense of being a rabbi, were also called disciples, and it was from this group that Jesus called His own first disciples (Jn 1:35). John himself directed them to Jesus. The group of John's disciples persisted after John's death. Apollos*, a companion of Paul, was a disciple of John (AA 18:24-25) and the disciples at Ephesus* whom Paul baptized knew only the baptism* of John (AA 19:1 ff). The members of this group obviously regarded themselves as followers of Jesus, but their relations to other followers of Jesus remain obscure. Quite often the invitation is issued by Jesus Himself to follow Him or become His disciple, and this invitation was extended to more than the apostles*, so that some scholars believe that vocation by Jesus Himself was one of the qualifications for discipleship. This deduction is not altogether clear from the NT. The "large crowd" of disciples (Lk 6:17; 19:37; Jn 6:60) suggests a number larger than would be gathered by personal invitation. Other interpreters suggest that the followers of Jesus were gathered in concentric circles, of which the Twelve were the innermost group, the disciples next, and then followers or "believers." The relationship between Jesus and His disciples was not entirely the same as that of the rabbi and his disciples. Jesus demanded a more complete personal surrender to Himself than did the rabbis. His disciple must be willing to abandon father and mother, son and daughter, and to take up his cross and lose his life in the following of Jesus (Mt 10:37 ff; Lk 14:26 ff). Like their master, the disciples had to leave home and had no place to lay their head. They must not remain even to take care of an aging father nor to dispose of their domestic affairs (Mt 8:19 ff; Lk 9:57 ff). The disciples of Jesus differed from the disciples of the rabbis also

because they could not hope to attain His dignity; their entire life was to be spent in His discipleship. Both in Mt and Lk the disciples share in the teaching of Jesus (Mt 10:5 ff; Lk 10:1 ff). The discourse which in Mt is addressed only to the Twelve is in Lk addressed to the 72 disciples. Quite possibly the account of Lk is so framed as to show that the commission of teaching the gospel is not limited to the Twelve. The attitude of the disciples of Jesus toward tradition was not that of the Jewish disciples. The disciple of the rabbi strove to preserve the exact teaching of the rabbi word for word to the best of his ability, and the most successful disciple was the one who could best repeat by memory what he had heard. The NT itself is the best witness of how little the disciples of Jesus were concerned with the exact word for word report of what He said. The gospel consisted not in a verbal repetition of what He had said, but in the account of His life, passion, death, and resurrection. Here the disciples were witnesses* rather than mere channels of verbal tradition. In AA the word disciple is used to describe Christians; this use is limited to the part of the book between 6:1 and 21:16. Here the word means Christian simply, and not those who had known and followed Jesus personally. This use did not endure, and was probably never common. Disciples of Paul are mentioned in AA 9:25. Here the term must be extended to cover those who assisted Paul in his ministry or were his own personal converts. There is no other instance of this use of the word in the NT.

Divination. The pseudo-science of predicting future events by occult means. This skill was widely practiced in ancient Mesopotamia, and the influence of Mesopotamian divination was extremely widespread, enduring in Europe into medieval and modern times. A vast collection of Mesopotamian literature deals with the interpretation of various divinatory signs. The Mesopotamian diviners interpreted the future by means of oracles delivered by some authorized representative of the gods or by the interpretation of omens and signs, or by various inductive practices. These are distinguished as divination by lots or by the cast of arrows (belomancy); the manipulation of rods (rhabdromancy); observations of human behavior and facial expression (physiognomy); the study of the palm of the hand (cheiromancy); the phenomena of birth, especially unusual or monstrous parturitions; the behavior of animals. The largest part of animal divination was concerned with the study of the entrails of sacrificial victims, especially of the liver

(hepatoscopy); flight of birds (ornithomancy); and movements of reptiles (ophiomancy); conformations of trees (dendromancy); configurations of flames (empyromancy) and smoke (kapnomancy); the behavior of drops of oil on the surface of water (lecanomancy); the observation of the heavenly bodies and meteorological phenomena (astrology).

There are several Hb words which seem to indicate forms of divination, but their precise meaning is difficult to determine. Divination was strictly prohibited in Hebrew law under penalty of death (Lv 19:31; 20:6; Dt 18:10–11). It is a sin as grievous as idolatry* (1 S 15:23). Saul had extirpated divination from the land (1 S 28:3), but he himself consulted a necromancer (1 S 28:7 ff). The land, however, was full of diviners in the days of Isaiah (2:6; 8:19). Divination is enumerated among the sins for which Yahweh destroyed the kingdom of Israel (2 K 17:17), and among the sins of Manasseh* (2 K 21:6), and among the practices rooted out by the reform of Josiah* (2 K 23:24). The false prophets* of Judah were contemptuously called diviners by Jeremiah (14:14; 27:9) and Ezekiel (13:6, 23). Nebuchadnezzar's divination by belomancy and hepatoscopy is mentioned in Ezk 21:26; here Yahweh himself determined the signs which decided the attack on Jerusalem. Divination by lecanomancy is ascribed to Joseph* (Gn 44:4, 15).

Divorce. 1. OT. The Hb legal codes, unlike the codes of Mesopotamia, contain no explicit regulation of divorce. The code of Dt provides that the man who divorces his wife must certify it in writing (Dt 24:1). It is assumed, both from the analogy of Mesopotamia and the general context of the OT, that only the husband had the right of divorce. This right did not exist if the husband falsely accused his wife of premarital intercourse (Dt 22:13–19) or if he had violated her before the marriage (Dt 22:28–29). The divorced woman was free to marry again, but she could not return to her first husband if the second marriage was ended by death or divorce (Dt 24:1–4), nor could she marry a priest (Lv 21:7). The formula of divorce as given in Ho 2:4 was "She is not my wife and I am not her husband," which is probably the negative of the marriage formula. We have no indication of the frequency of divorce in Israel. In the postexilic period Malachi rebukes those who leave the wives of their youth (2:14–15) as does Ben Sira (7:26). But Ben Sira advises divorce from a wicked woman (25:26). There is no indication of the legal causes for divorce. Dt 24:1 gives only the obscure phrase *'erwat dābār*, literally "naked-

ness of a thing," which suggests some immoral behavior. The phrase probably does not signify adultery, which was a capital offense, but may signify in a summary way legal causes well known by custom or contained in legal prescriptions which are not preserved.

2. NT. With the exception of two Gospel passages, the teaching of Jesus on divorce is clear and succinct: he who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, and she who is divorced and marries another man commits adultery (Mk 10:1–12; Lk 16:18). Mk 10:12 is an expansion made in view of Roman law, which permitted a woman to institute divorce; in Hb and Near Eastern law only the man could divorce. Two passages in Mt are not equally clear and have been much discussed by interpreters. In Mt 5:32 the formula of Mk and Lk is qualified by the phrase, "Whoever divorces his wife except in the case of unlawful sexual intercourse." The parallel to Mk 10:1 ff in Mt 19:1 ff contains the qualification, "Whoever divorces his wife, not for unlawful sexual intercourse." The question put by the Pharisees as found in Mt, "May a man divorce his wife for any cause?" presupposes the dispute between the rabbinical schools of Hillel, who permitted divorce for any fault which the husband might find in his wife, and Shammai, who permitted divorce for adultery only. As the biblical basis of His teaching Jesus appeals to Gn 1:27; 2:24. Many interpreters have supposed that the version of Mt represents a variant tradition in the primitive Christian community, and this tradition has been preserved in the Greek church from very early times. Few interpreters doubt that the formula of Mk and Lk is more original than the formula of Mt. J. Bonsirven, however, adverted to the fact that Mt, the most Jewish of the Gospels, alludes here to the Jewish background. The word *porneia*, translated above as "unlawful sexual intercourse," is not the ordinary Gk word for adultery (*moicheia*). Bonsirven believes that *porneia* translates the Aramaic *zēnūt*, which means an illicit union of concubinage. This case Jesus removes from the discussion; it is a marriage only in appearance and not in reality. The form of the saying as it appears in Mk and Lk runs counter to any known Jewish interpretation and is one of the most revolutionary features of the moral teaching of Jesus. This moral teaching was repeated by Paul (1 Co 7:10–11) as a saying not of his own, but of the Lord. Paul, however, did permit divorce in the case of a believer whose unbelieving spouse departs when the partner adopts Christianity (1 Co 7:12–16).

Doeg (Hb *dō'eg* or *dōyeg*, meaning unknown), an Edomite, the head of Saul's* shepherds, who was present when David* obtained bread from Ahimelek*, the priest at Nob* (1 S 21:7), and disclosed this to Saul (1 S 22:9-10). When Saul's followers refused to commit the sacrilege of killing the priests in revenge, Doeg executed Saul's command (1 S 22:18-19).



Assyrian hunting dogs.

Dog.

In ancient Hb law the dog was an unclean animal, to which unclean flesh might be thrown (Ex 22:30). "Dog," "dead dog," "dog's head" were terms of insult (1 S 17:43; 2 S 3:8; 16:9;) or of self-humiliation (1 S 24:15; 2 S 9:8; 2 K 8:13). Scavenging dogs would even devour human flesh (2 K 9:10) and would attack persons (Pss 22:17; 59:7, 15). Male prostitutes are called dogs (Dt 23:19). The warning of Jesus not to give what is holy to dogs nor to cast pearls before swine is partly based on Ex 22:30, and the two unclean animals mentioned here probably have no figurative meaning (Mt 7:6). Paul, however, uses the insulting term in warning the Philippians* to beware of dogs, evildoers, those of the "amputation," (*catatomē*, a harsh pun on *peritomē*, circumcision; Phl 3:2). Dogs, sorcerers, harlots, murderers, idol-worshippers, and those who love lies are

excluded from the heavenly Jerusalem (Apc 22:15). The word may signify those who practice unnatural vice, or it may be simply an abusive term. The comparison which Jesus apparently makes of the Gentiles to dogs (Mt 15:26) seems extremely harsh to modern readers. This saying and the sharply witty retort of the Gentile woman (Mt 15:27) was the kind of exchange which was esteemed as wisdom in the ancient Near East. Jesus was obviously pleased with her wit.

Door. The door in buildings of biblical times was made of strips or planks of wood bound by metal strips, usually bronze or iron*. The doors of houses* were generally small and low, and it is doubtful whether the houses of the poor had doors at all, and scarcely more than one outside door. The doors of temples and places often had double leaves as in the temple* of Solomon (1 K 6:34). The door was hung on two hinges; the lower hinge rested in a hollowed stone of a type which has been frequently discovered in Palestinian excavations. The upper hinge rested in a metal frame or in a hollow made in the lintel. The threshold, usually of stone, was preferably a monolith, or of large stones carefully smoothed and joined. The door was closed with a bar or with a lock*. Among ancient peoples the door was commonly decorated with amulets* to protect it against the entrance of evil spirits, and guardian genii stood at the doors of Mesopotamian palaces and temples (cf *CHERUB*). This practice may be reflected in the Hb practice of hanging the *mezuzah* at the door (Dt 6:9). The doorpost was smeared with the blood of the Passover* lamb to ward off the angel of death (Ex 12:7).

Dor (Hb *dôr*, *dō'r*), a town of the Palestinian coast identical with the modern el Burj near Tanturah, about 8 mi N of Caesarea. The name appears in the compound *nēpōt dor*, "the heights of Dor," which designates either the low sand hills which line the coast N of Joppa* or the slopes of Mt Carmel*, which rise to the E of Dor. Naphoth-dor is included in the confederation of N kings defeated by Joshua (Jos 11:2; 12:23). The city is assigned to Manasseh (Jos 17:11) and to Ephraim (1 Ch 7:29), but Jos 17:11 indicates that it lay in the territory of Asher. It was effectively retained by non-Israelite peoples, the Canaanites (Jgs 1:27), and after the invasion of the "Sea Peoples" by the Tjekker, who held the city when it was visited by Wenamon of Egypt about 1100 BC (ANET 26). Israelite possession of Dor was scarcely earlier than the

monarchy; the city is included in Solomon's 4th district (1 K 4:11). After the Assyrian conquest Dor was the headquarters of an Assyrian province which included the coast from Akko* to Joppa. The city was a port, although it had no natural harbor; and difficult communications with the hinterland prevented it from becoming an important city. Antiochus* VII besieged Tryphon* at Dor in 139 BC (1 Mc 15:10-14).

Dorcas (Gk *dorkas*, "gazelle"), the Gk name of Taitha*, a woman of Joppa* who was raised from the dead by Peter (AA 9:36).

Dothan (Hb *dōtan*, meaning unknown), a town of central Palestine, not mentioned in the tribal lists of Jos; the sons of Jacob pastured there (Gn 37:17) and it was the scene of Elisha's escape from the Aramaean troops sent to capture him (2 K 6:13-19). It appears in Jdt 3:9; 4:6; 7:3 as near Esdraelon. It is identified with the modern Tell Dotha 60 mi N of Jerusalem and not far S of the plain of Esdraelon. Dothan is mentioned in the list of Canaanite cities captured by Thutmose III of Egypt (ANEP 242). Tell Dotha has been excavated by J. P. Free in several seasons since 1953. The excavation disclosed a city larger and more important than the few biblical notices would indicate. There were 11 levels of continuous occupation from Early Bronze (3100 BC) to Iron II, ending in 700 BC. A smaller Hellenistic town was built on the summit of the tell 300-100 BC. The occupation debris was 30 ft thick. A massive wall 13 ft thick enclosed the Early Bronze city. A jar burial of a child in Iron II was interpreted by the excavators as a child sacrifice. A massive building with large storage facilities from Iron II was taken to be the administrative center for the collection of taxes.

Dove. Four species of dove are found in modern Palestine: the ring dove or wood dove, the stock dove, the rock dove, and the turtledove. The domestication of the dove was known from early periods; Is 60:8 alludes to dovescotes. The story of the dove and the raven in the deluge (Gn 8:8-12) seems to praise the dove implicitly. The dove is frequently mentioned in the Pnt as a sacrificial bird, particularly as the offering of the poor and for purification from ritual uncleanness (Lv 1:14; 5:7, 11 f; 12:6, 8; 14:22, 30; 15:14, 29 f). It is part of the offering of the Nazirite* vow (Nm 6:10). The two Hb words distinguish the turtledove, *tōr*, from other species, *yōnāh*, which appears to include several species.

The imagery of the dove in the Bible is rich and shows familiarity with the bird. Ps

68:14 is obscure, as is the title of Ps 56:1, "the dove of the distant terebinths." The poet desires that he had wings like a dove to escape the evil of the world (Ps 55:7). The moaning of the dove is compared to the mourning of those who suffer disaster (Is 38:14; 59:11; Na 2:8). Those who are attacked by an enemy flee to the cliffs like rock doves (Je 48:28). The restored Israelites shall come like doves in flight (Is 60:8; Ho 11:11). As in modern speech, the dove is regarded as silly (Ho 7:11). The dove with other birds knows the time of its annual migrations, unlike faithless Israel (Je 8:7). The voice of the turtledove is a sign of spring (SS 2:12). The frequency of the dove in the image of SS shows that the dove was a symbol of love as it is in modern poetry. The beloved is addressed as "my dove" (SS 2:14, an allusion to the rock dove; 5:2; 6:9). Israel is called Yahweh's dove (Ps 74:19). The eyes of the beloved are doves (SS 1:15; 4:1; 5:12); the exact force of the figure is uncertain, but it possibly alludes simply to the dove as an erotic motif and not to any particular quality either of the bird or of its eyes.

In the NT the dove is the offering of the poor for the redemption of the firstborn (Lk 2:24); it was sold in the temple courts for sacrificial purposes, a practice to which Jesus objected vigorously (Mt 21:12; Mk 11:15; Jn 2:14, 16). It is a symbol of guilelessness (Mt 10:16). The dove is the visible symbol of the spirit* in the baptism of Jesus (Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32). The figurative language of the OT suggests that the primary force of the symbol here is love, the love which the Father through His beloved Son communicates to all who believe in the Son.

Dowry. The dowry is not mentioned in the Hb legal codes, and there are very few clear allusions to the dowry elsewhere in the OT. In Mesopotamian law the dowry was given to the bride by her father and remained her possession even if it was administered by her husband; it passed to her sons after her death or returned to her family if she died without sons. The gifts of the slave Deborah* to Rebekah* before her marriage to Isaac* (Gn 24:59) and of Zilpah* and Bilhah* to Leah* and Rachel* (Gn 29:24, 29) are probably to be understood as dowries. Hagar*, the slave who was certainly the personal property of Sarah*, was probably given to her as a dowry. Such gifts as a slave girl instead of a dowry are mentioned in the Mesopotamian legal records (Driver and Miles BL 274). Achsah*, daughter of Caleb*, was urged by her husband to ask her father for a gift of land, probably as

a dowry (Jos 15:17-18; Jgs 1:14-15). The Pharaoh gave his daughter the city of Gezer* when she married Solomon* as a *shilluhim* (1 K 9:16). This rare word, which elsewhere means the dismissal of a wife or a parting gift, may here signify a dowry. The gift in this instance, however, passed to the husband and not to the wife's sons or her father.

Dream. The belief that dreams are a means of divine communication or an occult means of discerning the future was widespread in the ancient Near East. The dream was conceived as a straightforward communication or as a symbolic phenomenon whose interpretation would disclose the future. The interpretation of dreams was a part of the science of divination* (oneiromancy). Dream-books with extensive collections of meanings have been preserved both from Mesopotamia and from Egypt. Professional dream interpreters are mentioned in Babylon in Dn and in Egypt in the story of Joseph*. In the literature of Ugarit* Anath learns in a dream that Aleyan Baal* is alive. Keret receives in a dream from El directions for offering sacrifice, and Daniel learns in a dream that he will have a son. Such a belief in the validity of dreams is found neither in OT nor in NT, nor can a belief in the efficacy of dreams as a medium of divine communication be said to be characteristic of the Bible, since dreams as a medium are found in only a few passages; and it seems that these passages should be regarded rather as a reflection of folklore narratives than instances of genuine biblical belief.

1. OT. Solomon (1 K 3:5-15) is invited by Yahweh in a dream to ask what he desires, and asks for wisdom rather than for wealth and power, and is promised wealth and power with wisdom. Many scholars think the story alludes to the practice of incubation, in which the worshiper passes the night in a temple expecting a divine communication. Solomon's dream occurred in the sanctuary of Gibeon*. If it is an instance of incubation, it is the only certain instance found in the Bible. It appears to be a popular fictitious explanation of Solomon's wisdom as well as a wise saying which shows that wealth and power are the fruit of wisdom. The dream vision of Jacob (Gn 28:10 ff) at Bethel* does not occur in a sanctuary; but Bethel is represented in the story as "the house of God and the gate of heaven" (28:17), and was therefore a holy place where one could seek God. The vision does not differ from others reported in the patriarchal stories except that it occurs in a dream. At Beersheba* Jacob* is assured in "a vision by night" that he would safely journey to Egypt (Gn 46:2 ff). A dream

vision is also mentioned of Abraham (Gn 15:12 ff); here, however, the sleep is described not by the ordinary word, but by a rare word (*tardēmāh*) which indicates a trance or hypnotic slumber. The call of Samuel* (1 S 3:3 ff) occurs after Samuel has retired for the night in the sanctuary, but it is not clearly a dream. It is an interesting fact that most of the dream revelations of the OT are granted to non-Israelites; Israelites believed that Yahweh spoke directly to His own people.

Dreams which contain a direct communication:

Gn 20. Abimelech*, after he has taken Sarah* into his harem, is warned in a dream that she is the wife of another and thus escapes punishment. In the parallel accounts of this episode (Gn 12 and 26) no dream is involved.

Gn 31:24. Laban* is warned in a dream not to do any harm to Jacob.

Gn 31:10-13. The stratagem by which Jacob multiplied his flocks (Gn 30:31 ff) is here explained as due to a dream vision.

Cf also Gn 21:17 ff; 22:1 ff; 26:24 ff; Nm 22:9 ff, 20 ff, in which divine communications are granted at night; the text of these passages, however, does not mention dreams.

Symbolic dreams:

The largest concentration of symbolic dreams is found in the Joseph story.

Gn 37:5. Two symbolic dreams which need little interpretation signify Joseph's future preeminence over his brothers. These dreams go beyond the story of Joseph and his brothers and reflect the preeminence of the Joseph tribes in Canaan.

Gn 40:1 ff. Joseph interprets the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker of the Pharaoh. Although the two dreams were similar, Joseph shows his skill by interpreting them differently; the interpretation involves a play on the Hb phrase "lift" or "remove" the head. His success here leads to his appearance before the Pharaoh.

Gn 41. Joseph interprets the Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and the seven lean cows and the seven fat and the seven blasted ears as signifying seven years of plenty followed by seven years of famine. The professional dream interpreters of the Pharaoh could not interpret these dreams, and Joseph states the Hb belief that the interpretation of dreams is from God (Gn 41:16, 25).

Jgs 7:13-14. A Midianite* dreams that a barley cake rolls into the camp and overturns a tent. His companion interprets this as signifying the destruction of the camp by Gideon*. Gideon overhears the conversation and takes it as a sign of victory.

Another collection of symbolic dreams occurs in Dn.

Dn 2. This chapter is a polemic against professional dream interpretation. Nebuchadnezzar* demands that the interpreters tell him the dream itself as well as the interpretation. When they are unable to do so, Daniel, whose interpretation comes from God, interprets the king's dream of the statue which signifies the four empires. Here, as in the dreams of the Pharaoh, is reflected the ancient Near Eastern belief that the dreams of the king had political and not merely personal significance.

Dn 3:31-4:34. Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream which foretells the king's madness.

A few passages of the OT suggest that in some circles and at some periods dreams were regarded as a regular means of divine communication. Dreams and visions of the prophet are distinguished from the personal communication of God with Moses (Nm 12:6-8). Saul could find the word of Yahweh neither by dreams nor by Urim* nor by prophets (1 S 28:6). In the eschatological future the young men will see visions and the old men will dream dreams (Jl 3:1). Eliphaz* receives an answer to Job's* problem in a dream (Jb 4:12 ff). Job is troubled by nightmares sent by God (Jb 7:13-14). Elihu* includes dreams among the means by which God speaks to men (Jb 33:14 ff). Judas* sees the high priest Onias* and the prophet Jeremiah* in a dream before his victory over Nicanor* (2 Mc 15:12 ff). The Egyptians were warned in dreams of the disasters which were about to befall them (WS 18:17-19).

A few passages of the OT seem to reject the dream explicitly as a medium of divine communication. Jeremiah (23:25 ff) distinguishes between the word of Yahweh and the dream of the lying prophets. The dream may be related, but only as a dream. Cf also Je 27:9-10; 29:9, in which the lying prophets are called dreamers. The precept of Dt 13:2-6, forbidding the Israelites to listen to any prophet or dreamer who attempts to seduce them from the worship of Yahweh, seems to be neutral toward the dreamer, and suggests that such dreamers may have been a recognized professional caste; but there is no other indication of such a caste. Lying dreams are included among the means by which false prophets deceive the people (Zc 10:2). Ec 5:2 explains dreams as due to the pressure of care.

Hb literature uses the dream as a term of comparison of the shadowy and insubstantial (Pss 73:20; 126:1; Jb 20:8; Is 29:7-8). In general the OT offers little support for the assertion that the dream was a recognized medium of divine communication. The dreams enumerated above, especially since

they occur in clusters in certain books and passages and in certain literary types, must be regarded as eccentric rather than characteristic; they reflect popular belief and anecdote.

2. NT. Dreams as media of revelation occur only in Mt (1-2 and once elsewhere) and in AA. In the infancy* narrative of Mt Joseph* learns in a dream that Mary's son is of divine origin (1:20), and he is warned in a dream to flee to Egypt (2:13) and to return from Egypt (2:19-20). The Magi* are warned in a dream to avoid Herod* after they visit the child (2:12). These dreams are all direct communication. The dream of Pilate's* wife because of which she warns Pilate to abandon the case against Jesus is mentioned without any details (Mt 27:19). The word "dream" is not used in AA; Paul receives communication four times in "a vision at night." The man from Macedonia asks him to come and help them; this was the occasion of Paul's first missionary journey to Europe (AA 16:9). Paul is encouraged by a vision of the Lord to remain in Corinth (AA 18:9); a vision of the Lord assures him that he will go to Rome (AA 23:11); and an angel of God assures him that he and all the passengers of the ship will escape death (AA 27:23 ff). Both Mt 1-2 and the second half of AA exhibit a theologico-literary conception which does not occur elsewhere in the NT. It consists in setting forth the divine intervention in the story by submitting the actions of the principal characters more directly to the divine guidance as manifested in dreams.

Drunkenness. 1. OT. Alcoholic intoxication seems to have been fairly common among the Israelites. The culture hero Noah* who discovered wine* is represented as discovering its intoxicating power also (Gn 9:21). Intoxication was the normal result of festive dinners (Gn 43:34; 1 S 25:36; 2 S 11:13; 1 K 16:9; 20:16). The dinner of Joseph and his brothers (Gn 43:34) is paralleled by Egyptian art and literary allusions which show that drunkenness was normal at feasts.

David had a purpose in intoxicating Uriah* (2 S 11:13). Elah* was drunk when he was assassinated (1 K 16:9) and Benhadad* was drunk when he was attacked by the Israelites (1 K 20:16). The words of Eli* (1 S 1:13 ff) suggest that drunkenness was not unexpected at Israelite religious festivities. Isaiah speaks of the drunkards of Ephraim (28:1, 3) and describes vividly the drunkenness of a festive dinner (28:7). He also utters threats against those who drink to late hours (5:11) and the heroes at drinking (5:22). Pr 26:9 refers to the

danger of a drunken man armed with a weapon. Warnings against drunkenness are uttered in Tb 4:15 and Pr 23:31. The Nazirite* vow* included abstinence from intoxicating beverages (Nm 6:3). In the story of Samson* the prohibition is extended to his mother before his birth (Jgs 13:3). The priests were forbidden to drink intoxicating beverages before entering the sanctuary (Lv 10:9). Ben Sira also warns against drunkenness (19:1). The abstinence of the Rechabites* was not due to motives of temperance (Je 35:1 ff).

Drunkenness is also used in a metaphorical sense. In particular, those who suffer disaster, especially from the punishing anger of Yahweh, are compared to those who stagger from drunkenness. The nations must drink the intoxicating cup of the anger of Yahweh (cf Ps 107:27; Lam 4:21; Is 19:14; 29:9; 51:21; Je 13:13; 23:9; 25:27; 48:26; 51:7, 39, 57; Ezk 23:33; Na 3:11). The earth totters like a drunkard in the eschatological earthquake (Is 24:20). The arrows of Yahweh are drunk with blood (Dt 32:42) and His sword drinks the blood of His enemies (Is 34:5; Je 46:10). The Israelites drink the blood of their defeated enemies (Ezk 39:19) to intoxication.

2. NT. The words of the steward at the wedding feast of Cana* suggest that intoxication was not uncommon at such festivities (Jn 2:10). The man who does not watch for the coming of Jesus is compared to a drunken servant (Mt 24:49; Lk 12:45). The gift of speaking in tongues manifested at Pentecost is explained by the listeners as due to the intoxication of the speakers (AA 2:13 ff), and Peter explains that, while drunkenness might be expected, it was not to be expected at the third hour, about 9:00 AM. Drunkenness is included in the catalogues of vices in Rm 13:13; 1 Co 5:11; 6:10; Gal 5:21. An explicit warning against drunkenness is given in Eph 5:18, perhaps with an allusion to the drunkenness of pagan rites. Christians should be filled with the spirit* and not with intoxicating liquor. Paul mentions drunkenness as one of the defects of the Corinthian celebration of the Lord's supper (cf EUCHARIST: 1 Co 11:21).

The metaphorical use of the term is found only in Apc 17:2, in which the great harlot of Babylon makes the earth drunk with her idolatry, and 17:6, where she is herself drunk with the blood of the saints.

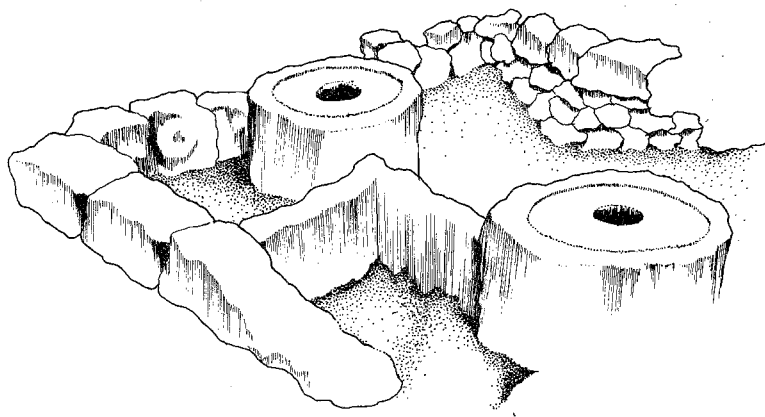
Drusilla. A Roman name, feminine form of Drusus; the Jewish wife of the Roman procurator Felix* (AA 24:24 ff). She was the youngest daughter of Herod* Agrippa I, born in AD 38. She was betrothed by her father to Epiphanes, son of the king of Com-

magene, but the marriage did not take place because he refused to be circumcised. She was then given by her brother Agrippa* II to Azizus, king of Emesa. Felix, who had himself been married twice previously, persuaded her to desert her husband and marry him in AD 54, when she was 15 or 16 years old. Their son Agrippa died in the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. This couple was an apt audience for Paul's discourse on "righteousness, self-control, and the coming judgment" (AA 24:25).

Dumah (Hb *dûmāh*), an Arabian tribe mentioned among the sons of Ishmael* (Gn 25:14; 1 Ch 1:30). The oracle against Dumah (Is 21:11) is probably not directed to this Arabian tribe, but to Edom*, whose territory is elsewhere called Seir*, mentioned here. There is probably a play on the two names, but the significance of the name here is unknown.

Dura (Aramaic *dūrā*), a plain in Babylonia where Nebuchadnezzar set up his golden statue (Dn 3:1). The name is otherwise unknown. It is thought by some scholars to be connected with Akkadian *duru*, wall or castle.

Dye. The dyer's craft was known both in Egypt and Mesopotamia from very early times. In Mesopotamia animal, vegetable, and mineral dyes were known and used. In particular, the red dye (*tulatu*), the red-purple dye (*argamannu*), and the violet-purple dye (*takiltu*) were known in the OT by the same names. The Egyptians had blue, black, brown, green, red, purple, and yellow dyes, probably all vegetable dyes applied by the use of a mordant. Egyptian paintings show that the peoples of Canaan wore brightly colored garments. Joseph's "coat of many colors" of the older English versions probably was brightly colored, but the Hb word means a tunic with sleeves. Dyed fabrics were a desirable piece of booty in war (Jgs 5:30). The similes of Is 1:18 suggest that the Hebrews knew how to manufacture fast dyes. The most desirable dyes mentioned in the OT are red and purple dyes. The red dye called *tôla'at šānī* was made by pulverizing the eggs and bodies of the kermes insect, *coccus ilicis*. Albright finds a red dye in *ḥašmannim* (Ps 68:32, from Egyptian *ḥsmn*, natron). The purple dyes were red purple (Hb *'argāmān*, Akkadian *argamannu*) and violet purple (Hb *ʾekēlet*, Akkadian *takiltu*). Both of these were imported from the great dye manufacturing centers of the coast of Phoenicia. The dye was obtained from a mollusc (*murex*). The amount of shells found on the coast near Sidon* shows



Dye vats from Tell Beir Mirsim.

that this city was at one time a great center of dye production. Dye manufacture is also mentioned at Ugarit*. The difference in the shades of the dye was the result of variations in the process. Most ancient dyes were impure and it is doubtful that the ancient dyer was ever able to produce a uniform color. The amount of dye which could be obtained from such a source was very small, and Tyrian purple is mentioned throughout the ancient world down to Greek and Roman times as a rare and costly article, within the reach only of kings and the wealthy; it was "the royal purple." Little is known of the methods of ancient dyers. W. F. Albright discovered at Tell Beit Mirsim, the biblical Debir*, what is accepted by most Palestinian archaeologists as the remains of ancient dye plants. In rectangular basins of stone and mortar stood circular vats from 28 to 32

in in height and diameter. The flat top was grooved around the edge with a drain into the vat. Albright explains this as intended to permit the excess dye to flow back into the vat; it was too precious to be allowed to run off. The openings at the top are too small to receive fabric; Albright notes that it was the ancient practice to dye the thread before the fabric was woven. The use of lime as a mordant is suggested by several jars containing slaked lime in the neighborhood of the vats. No facilities for heating the vats were found, and Albright leaves open the question of whether a hot bath or a cold bath process was employed. In NT times Asia Minor was a great dye manufacturing center; a seller of purple named Lydia* of Thyatira* was one of Paul's converts at Philippi (AA 16:14).